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VOLUME III

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The Washington Historical Quarterly

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VOL. III No. 1 OCTOBER, 1908

ISSUED QUARTERLY

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Vol. III No. 1 *October, 1908*

The Washington Historical Quarterly

A CONTRIBUTION TOWARD A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MARCUS WHITMAN.

The following list of references relating to Marcus Whitman has been prepared for the Reference Department of the University of Washington Library. It is submitted for publication as a means of saving cards and space in the library catalogue, and also with the hope that it may prove useful to students and neighboring librarians.

As to scope, the list covers the following points:

1. Biographical material.
2. The "Macedonian cry" of the Indians as a cause of Whitman's connection with the Oregon Mission.
3. Whitman's Waiilatpu station of the Oregon Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
4. Whitman's ride.
5. The Whitman massacre.
6. The controversy over Whitman's political influence. In connection with this controversy arises the question of the attitude of the United States Government towards Oregon, especially during the years immediately preceding Whitman's visit to the East in 1842-43. Owing to the large amount of material relative to this question, it has been excluded from the list with the exception of some few references to authorities that have been prominently brought into the controversy.

As to arrangement, the references have been given in three groups:

1. Manuscripts.
2. Books.
3. References to periodicals and the publications of societies.

In the form of entry used, a departure has been made from bibliographic custom. Instead of the usual "see" or "in" analytic entry, in which the name of the book or magazine containing the article and the pages referred to are mentioned last, it has been thought desirable to bring these facts to the front. The list exhibits first of all the places where material bearing upon the subject may be found, after that, facts showing what such material may be. This arrangement makes it possible for a student to select with promptness such articles as he may wish to call for in a library or for the librarian to readily check such items as the library may contain. Notes have been given as to the contents of many of the articles, not at all for the purpose of taking sides in a discussion, but merely to give the student, if possible, some clue to the contents or trend of the article so that he may judge as to whether he wishes to see it or not.

Many of the items have been examined only in the form of clippings and the complier has been compelled to depend upon a marginally pencilled statement for the name and date of the periodical from which the clipping was made. It thus becomes impossible to vouch for the accuracy of all references here given, but it is hoped that the number of errors may not be large. Many clippings have been discarded from the list because not fully labelled. It is unfortunate that persons who have shown most commendable zeal in clipping and preserving scraps of historic worth, have often failed to properly label their clippings, thus greatly impairing their value for reference, and making them bibliographically worthless.

Few, if any, in the list of American heroes, have been more variously estimated than Marcus Whitman. For twenty years before Professor Bourne called the attention of Eastern historians to the saved Oregon story, the question of Whitman's political influence was being debated in Oregon and Washington. The controversy was bitterly contested, and although it has mainly subsided since the death of the principal participants, the results are still in local evidence. No generally accepted conclusions have been reached, and the topic is by many delicately avoided.

In 1897 a Seattle man suggested the rechristening of Mt. Rainier in honor of the savior of Oregon.[1] In 1905, however, a Seattle school board was unwilling even that the name of Whitman should be associated with a grade school building under its charge.[2] Again, in 1908, in the same city, a movement was

[1] Seattle Post-Intelligencer, December 8, 1897.
[2] Seattle Daily Times, September 12, 1905.

launched towards placing a statue of Marcus Whitman in the rotunda of the National Capitol at Washington.[3]

Nor has there been greater unanimity of opinion in the country at large. In New England the name of Whitman has been ranked with that of Lincoln.[4] A student from the Middle West held that he was not above the stature of a third or a fourth rate man.[5] Barrows, in the East, made him the central figure in his history of "Oregon,"[6] while Garrison from the South in an intensive study of the ten year's of "Westward Extension" covering the period of his greatest influence, had room for but two sentences relating to Marcus Whitman.[7]

What are the sources of information in regard to the life and work of this variously estimated man? The greatest single collection of source material is to be found in the correspondence between Whitman and his associates and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. This correspondence is now on file in the Archives of the American Board in the Congregational House, 14 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., where "Persons who come with clear certification as to their character and motives are allowed to examine these manuscript letters and documents in the rooms during office hours, from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M., excepting Saturday afternoons."[8] Unfortunately this correspondence is quite out of the reach of the average student. It ought to be published at the earliest moment for the benefit of all who are interested in the history of the Pacific Northwest.

Another important set of Whitman manuscripts is also located outside of the State. This is the collection of letters written from Oregon by Doctor and Mrs. Whitman to friends and relatives in the East, and contained in the Library of the Oregon State Historical Society, Portland, Oregon. Fortunately these letters have been published, and are easily accessible in public and private libraries.[9]

The most important Whitman collection in the State of Washington is owned by Mr. C. B. Bagley, of Seattle. In addi-

[3] Seattle Daily Times, June 21, 1908, Magazine Section, p. 3.

[4] J. Wilder Fairbank. in New Haven Evening Register, February 19, 1901.

[5] William I. Marshall, in American Historical Association, Annual Report for 1900, v. 1, p. 232.

[6] Barrows, William. Oregon, the Struggle for Possession. Boston. Houghton, 1884. (American Statesmen Series.)

[7] Garrison, George Pierce. Westward Extension, 1841-1850. N. Y. Harper, 1906. (Hart, A. B., Ed. The American Nation), v. 17, p. 38-39.

[8] Letter to the compiler from Dr. E. E. Strong, Corresponding Secretary, A. B. C. F. M., under date of October 26, 1908.

[9] Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association for the years 1891 and 1893 contain copies of most of the Whitman letters owned by the Oregon State Historical Society.

tion to his own collected savings covering many years, he has recently obtained the William I. Marshall collection. Here are to be examined Marshall's letter files containing hundreds of letters written by Whitman's associates and friends, and by the principal parties to the Whitman controversy covering a period of over twenty-five years. Here are also typewritten copies of a great deal of contemporaneous source material. The collection includes twenty-four notebooks containing Marshall's manuscript notes and memoranda; five of these are filled with copies of letters from the file of the American Board in Boston. It includes also five scrap-books of mounted newspaper clippings and many pamphlets and books relating to the early history of Oregon. In addition to all this, there is a bound manuscript copy of Marshall's unpublished history of the "Acquisition of Oregon and the long suppressed evidence about Marcus Whitman." This is a remarkable piece of work covering over 1,300 pages with an exhaustive eighty-eight-page index. Fortunately for students, Mr. Bagley makes his collection available to all serious workers in the field of history. For those who have occasion to use his library, he makes generous provision of a large well lighted study room, affording access to his books and pamphlets relating to the Pacific Northwest and to bound files of early newspapers not elsewhere available in the State.

Possessing the Marshall collection, Mr. Bagley's library is naturally strong upon the negative side of the Whitman controversy. Whitman College Library has the best collection upon the affirmative side. Here is the Myron Eells collection of books, pamphlets, mounted clippings and manuscript material. One of the interesting treasures is a scrap-book of clippings collected by Mr. H. H. Spalding and containing much of the material that he used in the compilation of his "Executive Document, Number 37." Whitman College Library is strong in missionary literature.

The University of Washington Library has a good collection of United States Public Documents, and, barring newspaper accounts, is fairly well supplied with secondary material for the study of Whitman.

The present list of references is by no means complete, but it is hoped that the field has been sufficiently covered to make it of practical use as a bibliographic introduction to the study of Marcus Whitman. If it should be the means of causing some few students to suspend judgment until they have had opportunity to carefully examine the sources of information, it will amply

justify its compilation. There has been so much undignified criticism upon both sides of the controversy and so many misstatements have been made, based upon secondary authorities and long range reminiscences, that it is refreshing to hope that the time has come when no one will have the temerity to rush into print upon this subject without at least some familiarity with the real sources in the case.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

University of Washington Library.
November 12, 1908.

MANUSCRIPTS.

Hutchinson, Arthur Howard. Growth and development of the Whitman myth. 20p.

Mr. Hutchison based his essay upon a careful study of contemporaneous source material, examining the archives of the A. B. C. F. M. in Boston, the Bowditch Papers in the Boston Public Library, and other records in the Libraries of Harvard and Yale Universities. His paper is of particular interest in connection with the work of Edward Gaylord Bourne. Professor Bourne acknowledged his indebtedness to Mr. Hutchinson as follows: "My eyes were first opened to the intricacies and curious origin of the legend by a very careful investigation conducted under my supervision by one of my students, Mr. Arthur Howard Hutchinson. His study of the question convinced him that there was a larger amount of collusion and purpose in developing and disseminating the story than I have thought it best to try to prove in this article." American Historical Review, 6:277, note (January, 1901). Mr. Hutchinson's paper contains a 4-page list of references.

Contained in the private library of Professor Edmond S. Meany, of the University of Washington.

Marshall, William I. Acquisition of Oregon and the long suppressed evidence about Marcus Whitman. 2v. in 4. c 1905.

Copyrighted manuscript of over 1,300 pages with an 88-page index. An exhaustive work based upon 23 years of study to combat the saved Oregon story. Mr. Marshall completed this shortly before his death in 1906, and was unable to secure its publication. It is typewritten upon letter size paper and well bound. On the whole, it is not so polemical in tone as his published writings which it entirely supersedes. While written to disprove the saved Oregon story, it contains also much material of general interest in the history of the Pacific Northwest. It is especially strong in the study of the attitude and action of the U. S. Government toward the Oregon Territory.

Contained in the private library of Mr. Clarence B. Bagley, of Seattle, Washington.

Parker, Samuel J. Open letter to Rev. John L. Maile, dated Ithaca, February 23, 1897. 24 p.

Contains some excellent biographical material. In regard to the personal appearance of Doctor and Mrs. Whitman, Dr. Parker says: "There is to me no good imaginary picture of them.....I should recognize the faces of Doctor and Mrs. Whitman if I saw them; but I cannot call their appearance to mind fully; I do Mrs. Whitman's most. Certainly they are not the ideal Methodist clergy faces of Dr. Nixon's book fancies, whatever may be said."

Contained in the Whitman College Library, Walla Walla, Washington.

Parker, Samuel J. On the Oregon Missions and their consequences with copies of original documents referring especially to the mission of the A. B. of C. for F. M. 267p. Bound copy.

This manuscript was completed August 1, 1892, and donated to Whitman College Library. Has much material relating to Marcus Whitman. Dr. Parker thinks that Whitman's name has quite overshadowed that of his father, who established the Oregon mission of the A. B. C. F. M. He says it should not be called the Whitman Mission, as Whitman was in charge of only one of the four stations composing it.

Contained in the Whitman College Library, Walla Walla, Washington.

Parmelee, Egbert Nelson. Early missions of old Oregon; a thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts, University of Washington, Seattle, 1905. 112p.

Mission of the A. B. C. F. M. p. 33-72. Takes a middle ground in regard to Whitman's influence. Says that he did not save Oregon or any part of it, but that he did exercise a very real and potent political influence. Bound typewritten copy.

Contained in the University of Washington Library, Seattle, Washington.

Pringle, Catherine Sager. The Whitman massacre. 109p.

Mrs. Pringle was one of the Sager girls adopted by Doctor and Mrs. Whitman. She was a grown girl at the time of the massacre. A few years after the massacre she committed her recollections of it to paper. She still has the manuscript and has made it the basis for lectures. It throws much light on conditions at the station before and during the massacre. Professor Meany, of the University of Washington, has procured a typewritten copy of this manuscript which he has bound and placed in his private library. He had two carbon copies made at the same time and these he has bound and presented, the one to Whitman College Library, and the other to the University of Washington Library.

Walker, J. E. Esther Among the Cayuses; a true tale of 1847. 8p.

This is softened story of the experiences of Esther Lorinda Bewley, a survivor of the massacre. The manuscript is dated Forest Grove, Oregon, April 28, 1908. It is based upon personal recollections.

Contained in Whitman College Library, Walla Walla, Washington.

BOOKS.

American Home Missionary Society. Testimony of the workers given at the 58th anniversary of the American Home Missionary Society, Saratoga Springs, June 3-5, 1884. N. Y. A. H. M. S. 1884. p. 1-2.

Address of Rev. Cushing Eells. Refers to massacre and the founding of Whitman Seminary as a monument to memory of Marcus Whitman.

Atkinson, Nancy Bates. Biography of Rev. G. H. Atkinson, D. D. Portland. Baltes. 1893. p. 66, 72, 110-111, 147, 171-176.

Atkinson visited the East in 1848 and attended the meeting of the A. B. C. F. M. at Norwich, Conn. "He there took the opportunity to try to establish the fact of Dr. Whitman's going to Washington in midwinter to save Oregon to the United States. In Oregon at that time, very few admitted this, but Dr. Atkinson was firm in the belief of the important fact, and urged Dr. Whitman's associate missionaries to speak out to establish it, but there was great opposition to the idea."....p. 147. This book contains reprints of Atkinson's "The American Colonist in Oregon," of Lovejoy's letter to Atkinson, dated February 14, 1876, and of Atkinson's address before the New York Chamber of Commerce.

Atwood, Rev. A. The Conquerors. Cinn. Jennings & Graham. c 1907. p. 222-234.

"Work of the American Board in Oregon." Speaks highly of Whitman, but says he didn't save Oregon.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. History of Oregon. 2v. San Francisco. History Co. 1886. Use index in v. 2.

A straightforward account based upon early sources. Not much attention is given to Whitman's Eastern trip. In a footnote, v. 1, p. 343, the author says, "Gray wickedly asserts that Whitman went to Washington with a political purpose, instead of going on the business of the mission." This account was written by Mrs. Victor. (For a valuable discussion of the origin and authorship of the Bancroft Pacific States Publications, see paper by Dr. W. A. Morris in the Oregon Historical Society. Quarterly, 4:287-364. Dec. 1903.)

Barrows, William. Oregon, the struggle for possession. Boston. Houghton. 1884. Index.

Much space given to Whitman. An uncritical account containing many errors.

Beeson, John. A plea for the Indians with facts and features of the late war in Oregon. N. Y. Beeson. 1857. p. 116-124.

Says Indians were not treacherous, but that the massacre of Whitman followed directly from his medical practice.

"We shall now see how it was that through the lamentable error of this practice [medicine], the good Dr. Whitman lost his life." p. 118.

Blaisdell, Albert F. The story of American history. Boston. Ginn. 1900. p. 342-345.

"How Dr. Whitman saved Oregon to the Union." A rather dramatic presentation for children. Inaccuracies.

Blanchet, Rev. Francis Norbet. Historical sketches of the Catholic Chruch in Oregon. Portland. n. pub. 1878. p. 133-183.

Defends the Catholics from charges of having incited the murder of Whitman.

Bliss, Edwin Munsell. Encyclopedia of missions. 2v. N. Y. Funk. 1891. v. 2, p. 472.

One column. Says Whitman saved Oregon.

Bourne, Edward Gaylord. Essays in historical criticism. N. Y. Scribner. 1901. p. 3-109.

"Legend of Marcus Whitman," enlarged from the American Historical Review, 6:276-300 (Jan. 1901). Rejects most of features of the saved Oregon story and attempts to trace its origin and growth.

Bourne, Edward Gaylord and Scott, H. G. The Whitman myth. n. pub. 1905. 13 p.

Reprints from the Morning Oregonian, of March 29, 1903.

British and American joint commission for the final settlement of the claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound agricultural companies. [Papers.] Washington. Gov't printing office, etc.; Montreal. Lovell. 1865-1869. 14v.

v 2. Evidence on the part of the Hudson's Bay Co. Montreal. Lovell. 1868. p. 213.

Deposition of Dugald Mctavish bearing upon the Whitman massacre.

v. 4 Memorial and argument on the part of the Hudson's Co. Montreal. Lovell. 1868 p. 142-149.

Shows services of the H. B. Co. in helping the American settlers. Analysizes testimony of W. H. Gray and scores him for his bitter partizanship.

v. 8. Evidence for the United States in the matter of the claim of the Hudson's Bay Co. Wash. McGill & Witherow. 1867. p. 75, 159-191.

Cross examination of Jos. L. Meek and testimony of W. H. Gray. Much material relating to the Whitman station. Gray swears that Whitman when in Washington interviewed President Fillmore!

Note. The compiler has been unable to examine a complete set of the above papers. The University of Washington Library contains but 8 out of the 14 volumes as shown in the printed catalog of the Library of Congress.

Brouillet, Rev. J. B. A. Protestantism in Oregon; account of the murder of Dr. Whitman and the ungrateful calumnies of H. H. Spalding, Protestant missionary. N. Y. Cozans. 1853.

A Catholic account of the Whitman massacre which appeared later in a U. S. Public Document (U. S. Congress, 35-1, House Exec. Doc., No. 38).

Brown, J. Henry. Political history of Oregon, Volume 1, Provisional government. Portland. 1892. p. 49-52, 57-58, 79, 87-90, 111-115, 118-122, 148-154, 316-431.

Contains copies of many important Whitman documents and sources, such as the permit issued by Secretary of War Cass to Whitman and Spalding to reside in the Indian country among the Flathead and Nez Perce Indians, dated March 1, 1836, a fac simile of Whitman's signature, Lovejoy's account of his ride with Whitman, and Whitman's letter to the Secretary of War enclosing synopsis of a proposed bill.

Burnett, Peter H. Recollections and opinions of an old pioneer. N. Y. Appleton. 1880.

Based on a journal of the immigration of 1843 kept from the rendezvous near Independence, Mo., to Walla Walla. A high estimate is given of Whitman's services. Spalding's attack of the Catholics considered unjust. "Mr. Spalding and myself agreed to discuss the matter through the columns of a small monthly newspaper, [Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist], published by Mr. Griffin, and several numbers were written and published by each of us, but the discovery of the gold mines in California put a stop to the discussion," p. 305.

Burgess, John W[illiam]. The middle period. N. Y. Scribner. 1897. p. 315-316.

Ride. Object stated to be political with political results.

Butterworth, Hezekiah. Log school house on the Columbia. N. Y. Appleton. c 1890. p. 235-236, 244-249.

Whitman said to have secured a delay of treaties at Washington City, thus saving Oregon and Washington to the U. S.

Catlin, George. Manners, customs, and condition of the North American Indians, 1832-1839. 2v. Lond. Catlin. 1841. p. 108-109.

Letter No. 48, an oft-quoted authority in regard to the "Macedonian cry." Catlin traveled with the two young Nez Perce Indians on their return from St. Louis.

Chittenden, Hiram Martin. Amreican fur trade of the far West. 3v. N. Y. Harper. 1902. v. 2., p. 640-649.

A critical account of the St. Louis delegation of 1832 and of Whitman's return to the East in 1842-43.

Chittenden, Hiram Martin, and Richardson, A. T. Life, letters, and travels of Father Pierre Jean De Smet, S. J. 4v. N. Y. Harper. 1905. v. 1, p. 27-28, 129, 267; v. 2, p. 486.

Holds that Whitman considered the American occupation of Oregon his chief mission.

Clark, Joseph B. Leavening of the nation. N. Y. Baker & Taylor. 1903. p. 194-200.

Saved Oregon story. In a foot note, p. 199, Mowry and Eells are cited as "conservative and accurate."

Clark, S A . Pioneer days of Oregon history. 2v. Portland. Gill. 1905.

Vol. 2 gives much space to various phases of Whitman's life and mission. Author rejects inaccuracies of men like Barrows and Spalding, but is inclined to give all possible praise to Whitman. Quotes much but without carefully citing references.

Coffin, Charles Carleton. Building of the nation. N. Y. Harper. c 1882. p. 371-386.

Dramatic. Macedonian cry. Quart of seed wheat. Walla Walla dinner. Deep laid scheme.

Colvocoresses, George M. Four years in the government exploring expedition commanded by Captain Charles Wilkes. Ed. 2. N. Y. Young. 1853. p. 238.

Oregon mission. Remarkable experience of Walker and Eells in teaching the Indians.

Craighead, J[ames] G[eddes]. Story of Marcus Whitman. Phil. Presbyterian Board. Phil. c1895.

"The incentive of this volume was the wish to vindicate the characters and the work of the early Protestant missionaries in Oregon from aspersions which have been cast upon them."—Author's preface.

Crawford, Medorem. Journal; an account of his trip across the plains with the Oregon pioneers of 1842. (Sources of the history of Oregon, v. 1, no. 1). Eugene. University of Oregon. 1897. p. 19-20.

Visit at the Whitman station. Mention of the threshing machine and grinding mill.

Creegan, C[harles] C., & Goodnow, Mrs. J. A. B. Great missionaries of the church. N. Y. Crowell. 1895. p. 341-366.

Inaccuracies. Webster made to say to Whitman that George Simpson was at that time (March, 1843) present in Washington.

Dellenbaugh, Frederick S. Breaking the wilderness. N. Y. Putnams. 1905. p. 287-290.

Speaks guardedly of Whitman's services to Oregon.

Drake, Samuel Adams. Making the great West, 1512-1883. N. Y. Scribners. 1887. p. 232-233, 239-240.

Says that Whitman went to Washington with news of the Red River invasion, and that he raised an immigrant train of 200 wagons for Oregon.

De Saint-Amant. See Saint-Amant, Pierre Charles de.

Dunn, Jacob Piatt, Jr. Massacres of the mountains. Lond. Low. (N. Y. Harper). 1886. p. 37-42, 93-117.

Inaccurate. Says the British prevented wagons from crossing to Oregon. Walla Walla dinner story.

Dunning, Albert E. Congregationalists in America. N. Y. Hill. 1894. p. 442-443.

Massacre. States political reasons as the cause of Whitman's ride.

Dye, Eva Emery. McLoughlin and old Oregon. Chic. McClurg. 1900.

Interweaves much Whitman fact and fiction.

Dye, Eva Emery. Stories of Oregon. San Francisco. Whitaker. 1900. p. 91-99.

No extravagant claims for Whitman. A rather guarded account.

Edwards, Jonathan. Marcus Whitman, M. D., the pathfinder of the Pacific Northwest.....48p. Spokane. Union Printing Co.

Preface states that the pamphlet was issued in the interests of Whitman College. Based upon lectures. Much space given to developing the opposition of the H. B. Co. to a wagon road.

Eells, Myron. Father Eells.....a biography of Rev. Cushing Eells, D. D. Boston. Congregational S. S. and Pub. Soc. c 1894. Index.

Claims that the single object that Whitman had in view in making his famous ride was to save Oregon to the U. S.

Eells, Myron. The hand of God in the history of the Pacific Coast. 15p. n. p. n. pub. n. d.

Address at Whitman College, June 1, 1888. Discusses the missionary as an "entering wedge." Gives the H. B. Co. credit for caring for the missionaries.

Eells, M[yron]. History of the Congregational Association of Oregon, Washington and Idaho. Phil. Am. S. S. Union. c1882. p. 27-32, 162-175.

Whitman saved Oregon story.

Eells, Myron. History of the Congregational Association of Oregon and Washington Teritory, 1848-1880. Portland. Himes. 1881. p. 9-12.

Story of Whitman's ride.

Eells, Myron. Memorial of Mrs. Mary R. Walker. 12p. n. p. n. pub. n. d.

Sermon at the funeral of Mrs. Walker, Forest Grove, Dec. 7, 1877. References to the Whitman station and massacre.

Eells, Myron. Marcus Whitman, M. D.; proofs of his work in saving Oregon to the U. S. and in promoting the immigration of 1843. 34p. Portland. Himes. 1883.

Eells was one of the ablest defenders of the saved Oregon story. This pamphlet contains copies of many letters written to him in corroboration of his views.

Eells, Myron. Reply to Professor Bourne's "The Whitman legend." 122p. Walla Walla. Statesman Pub. Co. 1902.

Reprint from Whitman College Quarterly, v. 4, no. 3.

Encyclopedia Britannica. 25v. N. Y. Scribners. 1884. v. 17, p. 825.

Article by G. H. Atkinson. Gives Whitman credit of at least attempting to save Oregon. Says his ride of 1842-43 was made to remove the bar on immigration.

Evans, Elwood. Washington Territory; address delivered at the Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia, Sept. 1876. Olympia (Wash.). Bagley. 1877. p. 12-14.

Whitman massacre attributed to "Indian jealousy, superstition and hate."

Evans, Elwood, editor. History of the Pacific Northwest. 2v. Portland. North Pacific History Co. 1889. v. 1, p. 199-207, v. 2, p. 629-630, and elsewhere.

Takes a conservative view of Whitman's political influence.

Fagan, David D. History of Benton County, Oregon. Portland. Walling. 1885. p. 127-163.

Condemns Gray's "fiction" in regard to Whitman.

Farnham, Charles H. History of the descendants of John Whitman, of Weymouth, Mass. New Haven. 1889. p. 237-239.

Perrin B. Whitman's version of the saved Oregon story.

Farnham, Thomas J. Travels in the great western prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains. 2v. Lond. Bentley. 1843. v. 2, p. 131-149.

Farnham arrived at the mission Sept. 23, 1839, and remained about one week. He tells about the farm, the mill, and the mission work. One of the best contemporaneous accounts. Contained also in the Tribune edition of the same book. N. Y. Greeley & McElrath. 1843. p. 79-83.

Flohr, Michael. Did Whitman save Oregon? n. p. n. publ. n. d.

In this unpaged pamphlet issued by St. Patrick's Church, Walla Walla, Wash., is contained an account of Father Flohr's lecture in which he discredits the saved Oregon story.

Foster, John W. Century of American diplomacy. Boston. Houghton. 1901. p. 305-306.

Follows Barrow's Oregon.

Fremont, John C. Report of the exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the year 1842, and to Oregon and California in the years 1843-44. Ed. 1. Wash. Gales & Seaton. 1845. p. 182-183.

Fremont was at the Whitman station, Oct. 23, 1843, for about one hour.

Garrison, George Pierce. Westward extension, 1841-1850. N. Y. Harper. 1906 (Hart, A. B. ed. The American Nation, v. 17). p. 38-39.

Two sentences only, as follows: "In 1836 two Presbyterian missions were founded, one at Waiilatpu, on the Walla Walla River, and one on Lapwai Creek near its confluence with Clearwater River. The group of mission workers in this quarter included Rev. Samuel Parker, Rev. H. H. Spalding, a secular assistant named William H. Gray, and a physician, Marcus Whitman, who carried the first wagon over the divide of the Rockies, and whom a most interesting but wholly unfounded myth has credited with saving Oregon from the English."

Gilbert, Frank T. Historic sketches of Walla Walla, Whitman, Columbia and Garfield Counties, Washington Territory, and Umatilla County, Oregon. Portland. Walling. 1882. p. 63-64, 68-70, 85-86, 96-97, 113-131.

Based on Gray.

Gray, W[illiam] H[enry]. History of Oregon, 1792-1849. Portland. Harris. 1870. Use table of contents.

A large part of the book is devoted to the Whitman massacre. Inaccurate. Should be used with extreme caution. Gray's main purpose seems to have been to throw all possible censure upon the Catholics and the Hudson Bay Co.

Greenhow, Robert. History of Oregon and California. Lond. Murray. 1844. p. 361.

Good material on the Oregon question. Bare mention of Whitman. Printing press at the mission noticed.

Griffis, William Elliott. The romance of conquest. Boston. Wilde. 1899. p. 171-173.

The saved Oregon story. Some inaccuracies due, perhaps, to careless proof reading, e. g. "Webster-Ashburton treaty 1846."

Grover, La Fayette. Oregon archives. Salem. Bush. 1853. p. 218-219, 321-325.

Contains copy of a letter from Robert Greenham [Greenhow], dated Washington City, Sept. 2, 1846, sending six copies of his "History of Oregon and California" with the request that one copy be presented "to my friend, Dr. Whitman, of Walla Walla.' Copies are given of several important documents bearing upon the massacre, including one from James Douglass to George Abernathy, dated Fort Vancouver, Dec. 7, 1847, officially announcing the catastrophe.

Guerber, H A . Story of the great republic. N. Y. American Book Co. c1899. p. 113-117.

Macedonian cry. Says nothing as to the real purpose of Whitman's ride.

Hanna, J[oseph] A. Dr. Whitman and his ride to save Oregon. 8p. [Los Angeles? 1903?]

Saved Oregon story with the Walla Walla dinner and the announcement of the Red River immigration as the inciting cause of the ride.

Harper and Brothers. Harper's encyclopedia of United States history. 10v. N. Y. Harper. c1901. v. 10, p. 349.

Brief note saying that Whitman "in all probability kept Oregon from falling into the hands of the British."

Hastings, Langsford W. New description of Oregon and California. Cinn. Rulison. 1857. c1849. p. 21, 54, 60.

Hastings stayed at the mission over Sunday, got provisions, etc. Describes the mission and says that the burning of the mill while Whitman was in the East was accidental.

Hawthorne, Julian, editor. History of Washington. 2v. N. Y. Am. Hist. Pub. Co. 1893. v. 1, p. 366-370; v. 2, p. 105-132.

Biography in v. 1. Whitman massacre in v. 2, written by G. D. Brewerton. Blames Catholics for the massacre. Gives deposition of Miss Bewley.

Hines, Gustavus. Oregon, its history, condition and prospects. Buffalo. Derby. 1851. p. 164-185, 421-422.

Hines arrived at the mission May 8, 1843. Received by Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Geiger. Whitman away on a tour to the U. S. Gives a full account of the meeting of the Indians as called by E. White, Indian Agent.

Hines, H. K. Illustrated history of the State of Washington. Chic. Lewis. 1893. p. 107-112.

Guarded account.

Hines, H. K. Missionary history of the Pacific Northwest. Portland. Hines. c1899. p. 446-486.

American Board Missions. Says the Wilkes report influenced the board to make the destructive order.

Holman, Frederick V. Dr. John McLoughlin, the father of Oregon. Cleveland. Clark. 1907. p. 53-54, 73-74, 167, 280.
"History says Dr. Whitman was the man who saved Oregon to the U. S., but that is not true. It was Dr. John McLoughlin, of the Hudson's Bay Company," p. 280.

Holst, Herman Eduard, von. Constitutional and political history of the United States. 8v. Chic. Callaghan. 1881-1892. v. 3, p. 51-52.
Whitman's influence with President Tyler is asserted with some hesitation and with a citation to Gray.

Howe, Henry. Historical recollections of the great West. Cinn. Howe. 1853. p. 384.
Speaks highly olf Whitman's hospitality to immigrants. No mention of political services.

Hudson's Bay Company versus United States, see British and American Joint Commission.

Johnson, Overton and Winter, William H. Route across the Rocky Mountains, with a description of Oregon and California. Lafayette, (Ind.). Semans. 1846.
Reprinted in Oregon Historical Society. Quarterly. For brief references to Whitman, see 7:96 (March, 1906) and 7:190 (June, 1906).

Johnson, Sidonia V. Short history of Oregon. Chic. McClurg. 1904. p. 194-212, 234-240, 249-259.
Story of Whitman told in a fair and careful way with attempt to strike the truth.

Johnson, Theodore T. California and Oregon. Phil. Claxton. 1851. p. 183-184.
Whitman massacre.

Kane, Paul. Wanderings of an artist among the Indians of North America. Lond. Longmans. 1859. p. 278-284, 317-322.
Kane was at the mission from July 18 to July 22, 1847. Sent Whitman a warning of danger from the Indians. (See entry for Sept. 21). Later hears of the massacre.

Kip, Lawrence. Army life on the Pacific. N. Y. Redfield. 1859. p. 32-35.
Kip heard reminiscences of Whitman at Walla Walla from the Cayuse, "Cutmouth John."

Lang H[erbert] O . History of the Willamette Valley. Portland. Himes and Lang. 1885. p. 260-273, and elsewhere.
Much on Whitman. Well indexed. Rejects cod fishery episode and the Walla Walla dinner story. Says the Whitman "romance" was first given to the world in the "History of Oregon," written by W. H. Gray, a man "incompetent to form an unprejudiced opinion" (p. 267). Gives Whitman credit for demonstrating a practical emigrant route to Oregon.

Laurie, Thomas. The Ely volume, or contributions of our foreign missions to science and human well being. Bost. A. B. C. F. M. c1881. p. 11, 13-15.

Some interesting variations to the usual saved Oregon story.

Laurie, Thomas. The Whitman controversy. 24p. Astoria (Ore.). Snyder. 1896.

"Published in the Missionary Herald, Boston, February and September, 1885."

Lee, D. and Frost, J. H. Ten years in Oregon. N. Y. Collard. 1844. p. 109-113, 211-215, 257-259.

Mr. Lee says that the "Macedonian cry" account as published in the "Advocate" is "high wrought" and "incorrect." Says that Dr. Whitman visited the U. S. to obtain further assistance in order to strengthen the efforts that had already been made. The Geigers and Littlejohns to spend the year of Whitman's absence with Mrs. Whitman.

Lenox, Edward Henry. Overland to Oregon.....in 1843. Oakland (Cal.). Dowdle Press. 1904. p. 8, 17, 33, 49, 54, 60-61.

Recollections of Marcus Whitman. Says that Whitman was hired to accompany the emigration of 1843.

Leonard, Zenas. Adventures of Zenas Leonard, fur trader and trapper, 1831-36. Cleveland. Burrows. 1904. p. 35.

Mentions incident of Whitman's extracting an arrow from Capt. Bridger's back.

Lyman, H[orace] Sumner. History of Oregon. 4v. N. Y. North Pacific Publishing Society. 1903. v. 3, use index; v. 4, p. 382-392.

Lyman closes the work with an estimate of Whitman, quoting Bourne together with defenders of the saved Oregon story, but not expressing his own opinion.

Lyman, H[orace] Sumner. Mileposts in the development of Oregon. (Bulletin of the University of Oregon, Historical Series, v. 1, no. 1). Eugene. 1898. p. 4-6.

Whitman's political influence discussed.

Lyman, W D . History of Walla Walla County, State of Washington. n. p. Lever. 1901. p. 40-55.

Missions of Walla Walla and the Whitman massacre. Claims that the last word has been said on the question of why Whitman went East, and that his aim was political. Refers to Nixon as authority.

McBeth, Kate C. The Nez Perces since Lewis and Clark. N. Y. Revell. c1908. p. 27-74.

Saved Oregon story based upon Gray. Considerable attention given to the Macedonian cry.

McMaster, John Bach. History of the people of the United States. v. 1-6. N. Y. Appleton. 1892-1906. v. 6, p. 449-451.

Establishing of the Waiilatpu mission. The narrative only comes down to 1841, and hence there is no discussion of the ride of 1842-1843.

McMaster, John Bach. School history of the United States. N. Y. American Book Co. c1897. p. 331.

One sentence regarding Whitman. "Still later in the thirties went Marcus Whitman and his party."

McMaster, John Bach. With the Fathers. N. Y. Appleton. c1896. p. 305-310.

Saved Oregon story, including the Walla Walla dinner and the announcement of the Red River immigration.

Marshall, T[homas], W[illiam] M. Christian missions. 2v. Lond. Longmans. 1863. v. 2, p. 266-267.

Massacre, Spalding and the Catholics. Kane quoted.

Marshall, William I. History vs. the Whitman saved Oregon story. Chic. Blakely. 1904.

Three essays, as follows:

1. Strange treatment of original sources. A review of Mowry's "Marcus Whitman" published in the Daily Oregonian, Sept. 3, 1902. p. 9-43.
2. Why his search? for the truth of history was a failure. Review of Myron Eells' "Reply to Professor Bourne," p. 45-92.
3. Marcus Whitman: a discussion of Professor Bourne's paper. (From the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900, v. 1, p. 219-236).

Marshall has done thorough work and calls attention to many inaccuracies in the extravagant claims that have been made about Whitman. His attitude is belligerent.

Marshall, William I. The Hudson's Bay Company's Archives furnish no support to the Whitman saved Oregon story. 36p. Chic. Blakely. 1905.

Controverts statements which have been made in 1904 to the effect that "The Hudson's Bay Company was Whitman's bitterest enemy, and sought in every way to forestall his plans" and that their records "give positive evidence that Marcus Whitman saved Oregon to the Union."

Miles, Nelson A[ppleton]. Personal recollections. Chic. Werner. 1897. p. 384-396.

"A chapter out of early history." Saved Oregon story. Not based on personal recollections.

Mission life among the Indians of Oregon. N. Y. Carlton and Porter. c1854. p. 36-38.

Mention of Whitman and the incident of the adoption of the Sager children.

Montgomery, D. H. Leading facts of American history. Bost. Ginn. 1902. p. 263-265.

Credits Whitman with perhaps saving Oregon. Says he went East with a double purpose.

Morris, Charles. Primary history of the United States. Phil. Lippincott. c1899. p. 210-215.

The English boast. Whitman in saddle in a day's time. How Whitman and consequently the whole Oregon country was saved to the Union by the instinct of a mule.

Mowry, William A[ugustus]. Marcus Whitman and the early days of Oregon. N. Y. Silver. 1901.

Attempts to retain so far as possible the saved Oregon story. Some valuable documents are printed.

Mowry William A[ugustus]. Territorial growth of the United States. N. Y. Silver. 1902. p. 161.

Brief statement of Whitman's services to the U. S.

Mowry, William A[ugustus], and Arthur May. American heroes and heroism. N. Y. Silver. 1903. p. 176-180.

Father Eells and Whitman College. Massacre, p. 176.

Mowry, William A[ugustus], and A[rthur] M[ay]. First steps in the history of our country. N. Y. Silver. 1900. p. 228-234.

Mowry, William A[ugustus], and Blanche S. American pioneers. N. Y. Silver. 1905. p. 201-202.

Story of Lovejoy, his arrival at the Whitman station, and his return to the East with Whitman on the famous ride.

Nixon, Oliver W. How Marcus Whitman saved Oregon. Chic. Star Pub. Co. c1895.

Dramatic.

Nixon, Oliver W. Whitman's ride through savage lands. n. p. Winona Pub. Co. 1905.

Saved Oregon story. Much attention to the Macedonian cry.

Pacific Railway Report, see U. S. Congress 36-1, House Executive Document, no. 56.

Palladino, L. B. Indian and white in the Northwest. Baltimore. Murphy. 1894. p. 9-18.

Flathead delegation to St. Louis in 1831. Says the Flatheads insisted on having Catholic missionaries. Refers to Whitman and Spalding.

Parker, Henry W. How Oregon was saved to the United States, or facts about Marcus Whitman. n. pub. 1901. 10p.

Same in Homiletic Review, July, 1901.

Palmer, Joel. Journal of travels over the Rocky Mountains to the mouth of the Columbia River....., 1845-1846. Cinn. James. 1847. p. 55, 57-58, 123-132, 165-177.

A valuable source. Appendix contains letter of Rev. H. H. Spalding to Joel Palmer, dated Apr. 7, 1846. This letter was written at Mr. Palmer's request for use in his book. It was apparently given to Dr. Whitman for his approval, and contains four notes signed "M. W." Tells about the Mission and the Oregon country.

This rare volume has been reprinted in Thwaites, Editor. Early western travels, v. 30. The Whitman references are p. 108, 112-114, 227-242, and 281-291.

Parker, Samuel. Journal of an exploring tour beyond the Rocky Mountains under the direction of the A. B. C. F. M., 1835-36-37. Ithaca. Published by the author. 1838.

One of the important sources for the founding of the Oregon Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Parker finds Whitman at St. Louis and they travel together to the Green River, where Whitman turns back to secure associates. Greenhow criticised Parker for his discursiveness, saying that his narrative "would have been more valuable had the worthy and intelligent author confined himself to accounts of what he himself experienced, and not wandered as he has done, into the regions of history, diplomacy, and cosmogony." (Greenhow, Oregon and California, p. 361).

Parrish, Randall. The great plains. Chic. McClurg. 1907.

Asserts that the object of Whitman's ride was to bear to Wasington the news of British encroachment on the Columbia. p. 143.

Roberts, William P. "The wheels of destiny." n. p. Beacon Ethical Union. c1901. p. 9-13.

A pro-Whitman pamphlet.

Robertson, James Rood. Development of civil government in Oregon. Forest Grove (Ore.). Thompson. 1899. p. 29-31.

A careful statement of Whitman's political influence.

Same article contained in the Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, v. 1, no. 1 (March, 1900), see p. 41-44.

Rollins, Alice Wellington. Whitman's ride, by a lady of Brooklyn (name unknown). 8p. Prtland. Baumgardt and Palmer. n. d.

In imitation of the ride of Paul Revere. The saved Oregon story.

This poem is contained also in Nixon's How Marcus Whitman saved Oregon, p. 180-185, and Craighead's Story of Marcus Whitman, p. 205-211. It is said to have made its first appearance in the New York Independent for March 19, 1885.

Ross, Ed. C., Eells, M., and Gray, W. H. The Whitman controversy, in reply to Mrs. F. F. Victor and Elwood Evans, whose contributions appeared in the Oregonian of Nov. 7 and Dec. 26, 1884. 70p. Portland. Himes. 1885.

A defense of the saved Oregon story.

Saint-Amant, [Pierre Charles] de. Voyages en Californie, 1851-52. Paris. Maison. 1854. p. 226-227.

States that "The Reverend Mr. Whitman, an American Baptist missionary," had been an active agent of American interests. Says massacre was caused by Indian superstition. Translated in Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, Mss, v. 2, p. 441.

Schafer, Joseph. History of the Pacific Northwest. N. Y. Macm. 1905. Use Index.

An excellent statement of the main facts of Whitman's career. Controverted points in regard to his political influence are avoided.

Schurz, Carl. Henry Clay. 2v. Bost. Houghton. 1887. v. 2, p. 278.

Whitman is credited with giving the government valuable information, and with leading the emigration of 1843.

Scudder, Rev. Doremus. A national hero. Sermon at first Congregational Church, Woburn, Mass., Sunday, November 28, 1897. 19p. n. p. n. pub. n. d.

Text: Genesis, 6:4, "There were giants in the earth in those days." Follows Mowry.

Scudder, Horace S. History of the United States of America, 1894. p. 348-350.

Shea, John Gilmary. History of the Catholic missions among the Indian tribes of the United States, 1529-1854. N. Y. Kenedy. 1854. p. 478.

Mention of the Whitman massacre.

Shelton, Don O. Heroes of the cross. Cinn. Jennings. 1904. p. 133-172.

Saved Oregon story. Apparently based on Mowry and Mrs. Barrett in the Sunday School Times of Jan. 10, 1903.

Simpson, George. Narrative of a jonrney around the world, during the years 1841 and 1842. 2v. Lond. Colburn. 1847. p. 162.

Derogatory remarks of the missionaries to the Indians. Speaks of the good feeling between the Indians and the Hurson's Bay Co., as contrasted with Dr. Whitman and the Cayuses, and says that Dr. Whitman lacked tact.

Smalley, Eugene V. History of the Northern Pacific Railway. N. Y. Putnam's. 1883. p. 46-50.

Chapter V, "Marcus Whitman's heroic ride." Inaccuracies.

Smet, P[ierre] J [ean] de. Oregon missions and travels over the Rocky Mountains in 1845-46. N. Y. Dunigan. 1847. p. 29.
Refers to the Presbyterian post at Walla Walla. Catholic plans for evangelizing Oregon. DeSmet to go to Europe.

Spalding, Henry Harmon. Executive Document No. 37, see U. S. Congress 41-3, Senate Executive Document, No. 37, Serial No. 1,440.

Sparks, Edwin Erle. Expansion of the American people. Chic. Scott. 1900. p. 306-307.
Saved Oregon story, qualified acceptance.

Spokesman-Review, publ. A race for empire and other true tales of the Northwest. 48p. Spokesman-Review. Spokane (Wash.). 1896. p. 5-9.
Saved Oregon story.

Steel, W[illiam] G . The mountains of Oregon. Portland. David Steel. 1890. p. 108.
Quotes Barrow's Oregon to the effect that Whitman's ride was "to prevent our government from abandoning Oregon."

Stevens, Isaac I. Pacific Railway Report, see U. S. Congress, 36-1, House Executive Document, No. 56.

Taylor, J M . History and government of Washington. St. Louis. Becktold. 1898. p. 37, 77-78.
Credits Whitman with a ride "to save Oregon for the United States."

Thomas, A[llen] C. Elementary history of the United States. Bost. Heath. 1901. p. 290-298.
Saved Oregon story with rather full details. Gives a note saying that the question is now under discussin.

Thornton, J. Quinn. Oregon and California in 1848. 2v. N. Y. Harper. 1849. v. 2, p. 22-23.
Refers to Whitman's station. Says the emigrants (in contradistinction to the missionaries) of 1843 were the first who proceeded west of Fort Hall with wagons.
Note in regard to Whitman with mention of the controversy, but no opinion expressed.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold. Rocky Mountain exploration. N. Y. Appleton. 1905. p. 225, 228.
Bare mention of Whitman.

Townsend, John K. Narrative of a journey across the Rocky Mountains..... Phila. Perkins. 1839. p. 249.
Brief mention of Whitman.

Tyler, Lyon G[ardiner]. Letters and times of the Tylers. 3v.
v. 1, Richmond, Va. Whittet. 1884.
v. 2, Richmond, Va. Whittet. 1885.
v. 3, Williamsburg, Va. n. publ. 1896.
v. 2, p. 438-439, 697; v. 3, p. 47.
Speaks of Whitman's eastern visit. Says that President Tyler received Whitman more favorably than Webster.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. Rise of the new West. N. Y. Harper. 1906. (Hart, A. B. ed. The American Nation, v. 14). p. 124.

Brief mention of the coming of Whitman and party in 1836.

U. S. Congress, 21-2, Senate Executive Document, No. 39, Serial No. 181. Pilcher's report.

Quoted by Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, v. 1, p. 80-90, in regard to Rocky Mountain Fur Company's first wagons to the Rocky Mountains.

U. S. Congress, 25-2, Senate Document, No. 24, Serial No. 314. Slacum's memorial of 31 pages calling attention to the great value of the Oregon country.

This document was also reprinted in Cushing's report, U. S. Congress, House Report, No. 101, Serial No. 351.

U. S. Congress, 25-2, House Executive Document, No. 42, Serial No. 322. Messages from President Van Buren transmitting a letter from John Forsyth, Secretary of State, dated December 23, 1837.

In regard to the possession of the U. S. Territory on the Columbia River. Refers to the joint occupation clause.

U. S. Congress, 25-3, Senate Document, No. 237, Serial No. 340. Petition of a number of citizens of Missouri praying a grant of land in the Oregon Territory, to enable them to form a settlement in said Territory, dated St. Charles, Mo., Jan. 31, 1839.

Signed by about 80 people. The settlement was to be made near the head of navigation of the Columbia.

U. S. Congress, 25-3, Senate Document, No. 266, Serial No. 341. Petition of a number of citizens of Michigan, praying for a donation of land to emigrants and settlers in the Oregon Territory, dated Jan. 20, 1839.

Request for a donation of 1,000 acres of land for single men and 2,000 acres for married men. Suggests that the settlement of this country would insure it against foreign invasion.

U. S. Congress, 25-3, House Report, No. 101, Serial No. 351. Cushing's report on the Territory of Oregon, January 4, 1839. 51-61p.

Contains much information about Oregon. One of the most important of the early reports based on Kelley, Wyeth, Slacum, Jason Lee, and others. Emphasizes the need of colonization and control of Oregon by the U. S.

U. S. Congress, 26-1, Senate Document, No. 93, Serial No. 356. Resolution of the Illinois Legislature calling for a speedy settlement of the Oregon boundary and its occupation by the government, January 16, 1840.

U. S. Congres, 26-1, Senate Document, No. 174, Serial No. 357. Edition 1 of Greenhow's History of Oregon, Feb. 12, 1840. p. 194-195.

In regar dto the ease of a wagon road to Oregon. Gives account of the first expedition to the Rocky Mountains with wagons in 1829.

U. S. Congress, 27-2, House Executive Document, No. 2, Serial No. 401. Report of the Secretary of War (Spencer), December, 1841.

"It is indispensable that a chain of posts should be established extending from the Council Bluffs to the mouth of the Columbia." Commended by President Tyler in his message to Congress for that year, p. 14.

U. S. Congress, 27-3, Senate Document, No. 102, Serial No. 415. Message of President Tyler dated January 23, 1843, transmitting to the Senate a letter from Daniel Webster in regard to grants of land in Oregon said to have been made by the British Government to the Hudson's Bay Co.

The matter had been taken up with the English Government and assurance given that no such grants had been made.

U. S. Congsess, 27-3, House Executive Document, No. 2, Serial No. 418. Reports of Secretary of War for 1842.

Secretary Spencer repeats his request for a chain of military posts from Council Bluffs to the Columbia, p. 186. Calls for maintaining our right to title, for colonization, etc. Approved by the President in his Message, p. 9.

U. S. Congress, 27-3, House Report, No. 157, Serial No. 427. Report of select committee to whom various memorials in regard to the settlement of Oregon had been referred, Feb. 9, 1843.

Favors settlement. Considers our title good. Speaks of the value of the country.

U. S. Congress, 28-1, Senate Executive Document, No. 105, Serial No. 433. Petition, dated March 25, 1843, complaining against Hudson's Bay Co.

Signed by 65 persons headed by Robert Shortess. See Evans, Elwood. History of the Northwest Coast, v. 1, p. 246-247.

U. S. Congress, 29-1, Senate Executive Document, No. 8, Serial No. 472. Petition, dated June 28, 1845, asking for territorial government.

In refutation of the Shortess petition, it is here stated that the British have been "most friendly, liberal, and philanthropic."

U. S. Congress, 30-1, House Miscellaneous Report, No. 29, Serial No. 523. Howison's Report, 1846. p. 25-26.

Speaks of Mr. Spalding and of the various missions.

U. S. Congress, 30-1, House Miscellaneous Aeport, No. 98, Serial No. 523. Memorial of the legislative assembly of Oregon Territory relative to their present situation and wants, dated January 25, 1848.

This message announcing the Whitman massacre was borne to Congress by Joseph L. Meek. It is an extremely important Whitman source. Copies of twelve letters relating to the massacre are here printed, also Ogden's Address to the Indian Chiefs together with their replies stating causes of the massacre. Lists are given of those at Whitman's station at the time of the massacre, of those who were killed, and of the supplies furnished in ransom of the captives.

U. S. Congress, 32-1, House Executive Document, No. 2, Serial No. 636. p. 472-481, Report of Anson Dart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, 1851.

Spalding said to be an incompetent Indian Agent, p. 472. Visit to the site of Whitman's station, p. 481.

U. S. Congress, 35-1, House Executive Document, No. 38, Serial No. 955. Brouillet's Protestantism in Oregon. Contained in the Report of J. Ross Browne on the subject of the Indian War in Oregon and Washington Territories, 1858, p. 13-66.

Gives a Catholic version of the causes of the Whitman massacre. Appeared also in the government documents of Congress, 35-1, as Senate Executive Document, No. 40, Serial No. 929, but it is usually cited as "Executive Document, No. 38."

U. S. Congress, 36-1, House Executive Document, No. 56, Part 1, Serial No. 1,054. Stevens' Pacific Railway Report. p. 152-153.

A visit to the site of Whitman's station. The mission house was occupied by Bumford and Brooke. Massacre said to have been caused by the false reports of a troublesome half-breed.

U. S. Congress, 41-3, Senate Executive Document, No. 37, Serial No. 1440. Spalding's compilation entitled, "Early labors of missionaries in Oregon." 1871. 81p.

Written as an antidote to Brouillet. Compiled from various sources, especially newspaper accounts, many of which were written by Mr. Spalding. Clippings of many of these newspaper articles are in a scrapbook made by Mr. Spalding and now in possession of Whitman College Library. Whitman is the central figure in this document, which unfortunately abounds in inaccuracies and misstatements. On p. 42, it is stated that the victims of the massacre were 20. instead of 14 of the earlier accounts, also that Mrs. Spalding was one of the number, whereas it is known that she was over a hundred miles distant at the time, and did not die until 1851, four years after the massacre.

This document was ordered reprinted on January 15, 1903, but seems not to have been again bound up in the U. S. Depository set of serially numbered volumes.

U. S. Congress, 56-2, House Executive Document, No. 548, Serial No. 4199, see American Historical Association. Annual report for 1900.

U. S. Congressional Globe, 31-2, v. 23, apx. p. 39. Speech of S. R. Thurston, Dec. 26, 1850, on land titles in Oregon City.

Says the Hudson's Bay Co. was responsible for the Whitman massacre.

U. S. Congressional Globe, 34-1, v. 38, p. 776 (March 31, 1856). Joseph Lane's Remarks on the people of Oregon.

Refers to Whitman as a noble missionary who had been murdered by the Indians, but says nothing of his political influence.

U. S. Congressional Globe, 42-2, Pt. 1, p. 157, (December 15, 1871). Mr. Mercur presents resolutions and a petition calling for a fair and adequate edition of Spalding's Executive Document, No. 37.

A clipping of this brief notice is contained in the Spalding scrapbook.

U. S. Congressional Record, 60-1, v. 42, p. 1760 (February 10, 1908). Speech of Samuel H. Piles on the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition.

Brief mention of Whitman in connection with immigration of 1843. Says Oregon was saved by the pioneers.

U. S.—Education, Bureau of. Annual Report for 1903. v. 2, p. 1331-1332.

Mr. D. K. Pearsons in telling of his benefactions to Whitman College gives the story of Whitman's ride.

Van Dusen, W. W. Blazing the way. Cinn. Jennings. [1905.] p. 32-35.

Avoids controverted points in regard to Whitman.

Van Tramp, John. Prairie and Rocky Mountain adventures, or life in the West. Columbus (Ohio). Segner. 1867. p. 143-145.

Whitman mission. Kindness and aid of the H. B. Co. Information drawn from Spalding's account in the Missionary Herald for October, 1839.

Victor, Frances Fuller. All over Oregon and Washington. San Francisco. Carmany. 1872. p. 107-109.

Speaks of the mission site. Nothing upon controverted points.

Victor, Frances Fuller. Early Indian wars of Oregon. Salem (Ore.). Baker. 1894. See index.

Story of the ride, p. 32-42. Denies that Whitman exercised any great political influence. Mrs. Victor has been much criticised, especially by Myron Eells, for her statements in this book.

Victor, Frances Fuller. River of the West. Hartford. Columbian Book Co. c1869. p. 186-188, 201-213, 280, 308-315, 399-427.

In this book Mrs. Victor sanctioned the saved Oregon story which she afterwards denied. Tells the codfishery incident. Illustration of the massacre, p. 411.

Von Holst, see Holst, Herman Eduard, von.

Walker, Williston. History of the Congregational churches in the United States. N. Y. Scribners. 1900. c1894. p. 377-378.

Says Whitman saved Oregon.

Walling, A. G. History of southern Oregon. Portland. Walling. 1884. p. 127-150.

Whitman's ride to save Oregon based on the arrival of the Red River emigrants.

Wells, Harry L. Popular history of Oregon. Steele. Portland. 1880. p. 260-275.

Saved Oregon story.

White, Dr. E[lijah] and Lady. Ten years in Oregon. Compiled by Miss A. J. Allen. Ithica. Mack, Andruss & Co. 1848. p. 117-118, 166, 174-212, 215-216.

Considerable information in regard to the mission. Several anecdotes, mention of the printing press, etc.

White, James T. & Co. National cyclopedia of American biography. N. Y. White. 1901. v. 11, p. 112.

Says the story of Whitman's journey as given by Gray, Barrows, Nixon, and others is fictitious.

Whitman College. Summer announcement for 1895. Walla Walla. Walla Walla Union Print. 1895. p. 22.

Contains a selection from the inaugural address of President Penrose, delivered June 11, 1895, in which he says: "The nation will never forget, when the stars and stripes are waving before its eyes, that three of the stars of that flag are due to Marcus Whitman, and the red of that flag may well stand for the outpoured blood with which he baptized this country, in the name of God and of the United States."

Whitman's grave and monument. n. p. n. publ. n. d. 16p. A pamphlet signed by W. Barrows, D. D., Financial Agent, Reading, Mass., 1887.

Says that Whitman secured Oregon, p. 6.

Whitson, John H. A courier of empire; a story of Marcus Whitman's ride to save Oregon. 315p. Bost. Wilde. 1904.

A work of fiction based upon and covering the entire period of Whitman's life in Oregon.

Wilkes, Charles. Narrative of the U. S. exploring expedition during the years 1838-1842. 5v. and atlas. Phila. Lea & Blanchard. 1845. v. 4, p. 393, 395-396.

The Wilkes party were at Whitman's station in 1841 and a short but interesting account of the mission is here given. It is stated that the Indians learned to irrigate their crops from Dr. Whitman and that they tried to use his trenches to save making their own.

Wilkes, George. History of Oregon, geographical and political. N. Y. Colyer. 1845. p. 67, 85, 88-89.

Under date of Oct. 8 [1843], tells of the arrival at the Whitman station of the emigration of 1843. In spite of the fact that Wilkes had travelled in the same party with Whitman, he calls his station a "Methodist mission establishment," and says that it dated back to 1834.

Wilson, James Grant, and Fiske, John. Appleton's cyclopedia of American biography. N. Y. Appleton. 1889. v. 6, p. 485.

Follows Barrows. "Had it not been for him [Whitman], the United States might have given up Oregon to England as comparatively worthless."

Winsor, Justin. Narrative and critical history of America. 8v. Boston. Houghton. 1889. v. 7, p. 562.

Barrows Oregon is "probably overwrought as to the influence of Whitman."

REFERENCES TO PERIODICALS AND PUBLICATIONS OF SOCIETIES.

Advance (Chicago). December 1, 1870. "An evening with an old missionary."

Interview with H. H. Spalding. Saved Oregon story. Clark's refusal of the Bible to the Flatheads. Story of the quart of seed wheat. Copied in Spalding's Executive Document, No. 37.

March 14, 1895. Whitman number.

January 17, 1901.

January 24, 1901. Howard, C. H. "Is Whitman's ride a legend?"

Albany (Ore.) Register. November 21, 1868. Resolutions in regard to "Protestantism in Oregon." Clipping in Spalding's Scrapbook.

Albany (Ore.) States Right Democrat. November, 1866—September, 1867. A series of thirty-seven articles by H. H. Spalding recounting at length the story of his missionary experiences among the Oregon Indians.

November 23, 1867. An editorial saying that the Spalding articles had been dropped because of the opinions of the old settlers who were tired of them. Mentions that Spalding is considered by some to be crazy.

About half of the above articles are contained in Spalding's Scrapbook at Whitman College Library.

American Antiquarian, 26:326 (September-October, 1904). Review of Marshall's History vs. the Whitman saved Oregon story.

Says the literature is exhaustive but not convincing on either side of the controversy.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Annual Report.

25th (1834) p. 26-27. Samuel Parker left Ithaca, N. Y., on May 5 for an exploring tour among the Indians of the Rocky Mountains. At St. Louis he decided to return and obtain associates for the trip.

26th (1835) p. 99-101. Journey of Parker and Whitman to the Rocky Mountains begun. Objects of the trip stated.

27th (1836) p. 98-99. Outlook for missionary work west of the Rocky Mountains.

28th (1837) p. 113-115. Beginnings of the Oregon mission. Kindness of the H. B. Co.

29th (1838) p. 125-127. Glowing reports. The request made by Mr. Gray for 50 additional missionaries and assistants.

30th (1839) p. 143-145. Arrival of reinforcements.

31st (1840) p. 176-179. Coming of the papists. Setting up of the first printing press.

32nd (1841) p. 181-185. Full account of the various stations. Map of the territory.

33rd (1842) p. 192-195. Destructive order of the Prudential Committee of the A. B. C. F. M. "The Committee deemed it advisable to discontinue the Southern branch of the mission, embracing the stations at Waiilatpu, near Walla Walla, and Clear Creek and Kamiah, higher up on the waters of Snake River."

34th (1843) p. 169-173. Action of the Mission in regard to the "destructive order." Whitman sent East. The order rescinded.

35th (1844) p. 212-213. Indians apprehensive and inclined to fault finding and jealousy. Outlook unfavorable.

36th (1845) p. 187-189. Mention of the growing numbers of immigrants and the need of preachers for the white population.

37th (1846) p. 193-196. Kindness of Mr. McDonald of the H. B. Co.

38th (1847) p. 185. Brief report.

39th (1848) p. 239-244. Whitman massacre. Indian sickness and superstition assigned as the immediate cause. Rescue of the captives. Map.

40th (1849) p. 201-203. The lower stations relinquished.

41st (1850) p. 182. The remaining Oregon missionaries at work among the whites. Attempts made through the Indian department at Washington to recover damages for the property destroyed by the Indians.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Maps and illustrations of the missions of the A. B. C. F. M. 56p. n. p. n. pub. 1843.

Gives a full page may of the Oregon Mission and vicinity.

American Catholic Historical Researches. January, 1899, 16:187-197. Beadle, H. M. Story of Marcus Whitman refuted.

April, 1901. Bourne's "Legend of Marcus Whitman."

April, 1906. Notice of Marshall's "The Hudson's Bay Company's archives furnish no support to the Whitman saved Oregon story."

American Historical Association. Annual Report, 1900. v. 1, p. 219-236. (Issued as a government document, U. S. Congress, 56-2, House Document, No. 548, v. 125, Serial, No. 4199).

Marshall, Wm. I. Discussion of the paper of Professor Bourne. Tells of his study of the Whitman question and of his efforts to keep misstatements in regard to Whitman from circulation in school histories.

American Historical Review. 6:276-300 (January, 1901). Bourne, Edward Gaylord. The legend of Marcus Whitman.

An able discussion based upon contemporaneous source material. Revised and enlarged in his Essays in Historical criticism, 1901, p. 1-109.

14:79 (October, 1908). Letters of Sir George Simpson, 1841-1843. Copied by Professor Joseph Schafer from the Public Record Office at London.

Paragraph 46 of Letter dated November 25, 1841, refers to American missionaries. The four stations of the A. B. C. F. M. are mentioned with a list of the members of each station. Whitman is not elsewhere noticed. In a letter to the compiler, under date of October 30, 1908, Professor Schafer makes the following statement:

"As to the bearing of my recent researches on the Whitman question, the results are purely negative. The letters and dispatches of the British Minister at Washington during the years 1842 to 1846 make no mention of Whitman; neither does Dr. McLoughlin in his letters to the Hudson's Bay Company; neither does Sir George Simpson in his reports to the company, except in his list of Oregon missionaries contained in the letter of November 25, 1841 (See American Hist. Rev. Oct. 1908). This is all negative evidence; Whitman's agency in influencing the negotiations was not known to these representatives of Great Britain or it would probably have been reported by them."

Annales de l'Association de la propagation de la Foi (Lyons, France), v. 5, p. 599, 600.

In regard to the Macedonian cry. First mention of the four Flatheads in a letter dated, St. Louis, Dec. 31, 1831, from Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, to the editor of the Annales. Translated on p. 188-189 of v. 2 of the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia in an article by Maj. Edmond Mallet.

Astorian (Daily and Weekly). February 29, 1880. Daily. May 14, 1880. Daily. January 28, 1881. Weekly. March 6, 1881.
Articles by Mrs. F. F. Victor, "Did Dr. Whitman save Oregon?" Six articles in reply by W. H. Gray, issued as separates as, "Circular No. 8."

Astoria Marine Gazette. July and August, 1866.
Said to have contained Gray's account of Whitman's journey a few months after Spalding's.

Atlantic Monthly, 46:534 (October, 1880). Reminiscences of Washington.
Whitman's arrival at Washington. The codfishery story. An unsigned article attributed to Ben Perley Poore.

Bay View Magazine (Detroit). 10:258-259 (March, 1903). Lyman, W. D. Evolution of the Northwest.
Refers to Whitman and his services, politically. Illustrated.

Biloxi (Miss.) Daily Herald. February 17, 1905. Account of Dr. Nixon's lecture, "How Dr. Whitman saved Oregon."

Boston Recorder. May 4, 1843. Quoted by Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, mss. 2:450, as giving a short notice of Whitman's visit in Boston and his departure for the Oregon mission.

Boston Evening Transcript. January 21, 1901. Penrose, Stephen, B. L. "The Whitman story."
Refers to de Saint-Amant in support of the Whitman story.

Boston Transcript. March 23, 1901.

Californian. April 19, 1848. Said to have contained account of the massacre. 2:19-33 (July, 1880). Clarke, S. A. How Dr. Whitman saved Oregon.
Follows Gray.
2:229-233 (September, 1880). Victor, Mrs. F. F. Did Dr. Whitman save Oregon?
In refutation of the previous article by S. A. Clarke. Contends that Whitman went East on business of the mission. Disposes of the Ashburton treaty.

Catholic Magazine, 7:490. Said to contain material on the Whitman massacre.

Catholic Northwest (Seattle, Wash.). 4, No. 8:5 (August, 1907). Hylebos, P. F. Address at the breaking of ground for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition.
States that Whitman did not save Oregon.

Catholic World. February, 1872, p. 665-682. "Several calumnies refuted."
A criticism of Spalding's Executive document, No. 37. Cited by Van der Donckt in Ecclesiastical Review, 32:13-14 (January, 1905). Bourne surmises that this article was written by Brouillet, (see his Essays in historical criticism, 1901, p. 34).

Chicago Advance, see Advance.

Chicago Interior, see Interior.

Chicago Interocean. August 5, 1893. "Who gave the Pacific Northwest to the nation?"

Scores the Spokane Review for having acknowledged a debt of gratitude to Jefferson. Says Whitman is the man who should receive first honors.

November 30, 1894.

December 16, 1894. Onderdonk's poem on Whitman's ride.

January 22, 1895.

May 5, 1895.

October 8, 1895.

November 26, 1895.

June 2, 1896.

June 9, 1896.

August 23, 1896. Baxter, Geo. M. Marcus Whitman's ride. Extravagant praise.

October 14, 1897.

December 21, 1897.

July 14, 1898.

August 21, 1898.

July 3, 1899. Review of Mowry's First steps. In speaking of the Whitman controversy, allusion is made to the "smaller fry like Marshall, the Chicago school teacher and crank."

November 20, 1899.

February 12, 1900. Review of Boutell, Geo. S. Crisis of the republic.

April 2, 1900.

December 30. 1900.

January 9, 1901.

January 11, 1901.

January 15, 1901.

January 21, 1901.

February 6, 1901.

February 9, 1901.

November 25. 1901.

January 19, 1902.

July 12, 1902.

July 12, 1903. Nixon, O. W. The pioneer Whitman, who followed Lewis and Clark and saved Oregon.

Chicago Record, September 25, 1900. Woodburn, James A. Explorers of the great West.

Saved Oregon story briefly told.

Christian Advocate. March 1, 1833, p. 105. Disosway, G. P. Letter enclosing letter of William Walker, dated Upper Sandusky, Ohio, Jan. 19, 1833.

This has been referred to as the origin of the Protestant version of the Macedonian cry.

Christian Advocate—*Continued.*

March 22, 1833. President Fisk's "ringing editorial."

May 10, 1833. Mr. Lehon's letter dated St. Louis, April 16, 1833.

January 31, 1834.

February 21, 1834.

March 31, 1834.

Typewritten copies of the material in the Christian Advocate relating to the Indian delegations to St. Louis were made for Wm. I. Marshall and are now available in the library of Mr. C. B. Bagley.

Christian Work. April, 1901, p. 600-602. Howard, Gen. C. H. Was it history or legend?

Church at home and abroad (Phila.). March, 1896, p. 189-204, 210-214. Parker, Prof. H. W. Article on his father, Samuel Parker.

Says that the pamphlet issued by Whitman in the interests of the emigration of 1843 was scattered widely, even to Texas.

August, 1897, p. 129-134. An article on Mr. and Mrs. Spalding with some references to Whitman.

Churchman (Chicago). 94:507-511 (October 6, 1906). Kirkbride, William Howard. The martyrdom of a pioneer missionary. il.

Typographical errors, eg. "Rev. P. P. Spalding who went to Oregon in 1866."

Cleveland Herald. April 6, 1843. Said to have copied Greeley's description of Whitman which appeared in the New York Tribune for March 30, 1843.

Colfax (Wash.) Commoner, 1893. Cited by Lyman, History of Walla Walla county, p. 47, as containing Mrs. Catherine Pringle's "Story of the Christmas dinner of 1847."

Commonwealth (Seattle, Wash.). March 4, 1905. Webb, J. G. Discovery of Puget Sound.

Beginning of material relating to Whitman. Macedonian cry.

March 11, 1905. Whitman continued.

March 18, 1905. Whitman continued.

March 25, 1905. Whitman continued.

April 1, 1905. Whitman continued.

Continued in later issues which the compiler has not examined. Based upon Barrows.

Congregational Association of Oregon and Washington. Minutes.

34th Session, 1882, p. 17-18. Resolutions touching Whitman, the Indians and the Catholics.

37th Session, 1885, p. 37-59. Apx. A. Eells, C. "Early workers." Anecdotes of Whitman. Apx. B. Eells, M. Work accomplished during fifty years, 1835-1885. Contains references to Whitman.

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Congregationalist. October 5, 1866. An early version of the Whitman story cited by Bourne, Essays in historical criticism, p. 8, note.

November 18, 1897. Mowry, W. A. Dr. Marcus Whitman, the hero of Oregon.

Says that Whitman was not "snubbed" by the Board when he returned to Boston in 1843.

January 19, 1901.

January 4, 1902.

Congregationalist and Christian World. September 20, 1902. Griffis, W. E. The Marcus Whitman Centennial in Ithaca.

Dial, 32:40-43 (January 16, 1902). Hodder, F. H. The Marcus Whitman legend. Reviewing Bourne, Essays in historical criticisms and Mowry, Marcus Whitman and the early days of Oregon.

Mr. Hodder states clearly and forcibly his views agreeing with Bourne rather than with Mowry.

Ecclesiastical Review. 32:13-14 (January, 1905). Van der Donckt, Cyril. The founders of the church in Idaho. Refers to the Catholic Sentinel, No. 12 and No. 13, as containing material against Spalding's charge that the Catholics instigated the Whitman massacre.

Eclectic Magazine. 148:400 (May, 1907). Tyler, Lyon G. John Tyler and his presidency.

Mr. Tyler states that "The story told by Mr. Barrows, that the government was indifferent to Oregon and was only prevented from surrendering it to the British by the timely interference of Dr. Whitman, is totally without foundation." Refers to Marshall.

Fitchburg (Mass.) Sentinel. February 12, 1901. Fairbank, J. Wilder. Reply to Bourne's attack on Whitman.

Forest Grove Times. August 14, 1902. Walker, L. C. Why Dr. Whitman went East.

Four Track News. 5:135-137 (September, 1903). Kane, Mary L. How Oregon was saved.

Great Round World. p. 359-361 (1901). Brown, Arthur J. Marcus Whitman's ride.

A popular rendering of Barrow's saved Oregon story.

Hampshire Gazette (Northampton, Mass.). July 22, 1884. In regard to Whitman's boyhood and schooling. Quoted by C. Eells in Minutes of the Congregational Association of Oregon and Washington, 37th session (1885), p. 41.

Harper's Magazine. 85:839 (November, 1892). Wyeth, John A. Nathaniel J. Wyeth and the struggle for Oregon.

Quotes Barrows in regard to Whitman's connection with the emigration of 1843.

Home Missionary. December, 1890. Article by J. E. Roy. 78:280-281 (December, 1904). Address of Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis at Des Moines in which he claims new evidence from the H. B. Co's. archives. Referring to E. G. Bourne and his work, Dr. Hillis says: "That is the Bourne to which no scholar will ever return."

Idaho Signal. June 7, 1873. Resolutions in regard to Exec. Doc. No. 37.

August 8, 1874. Death of a pioneer (Spalding).

Independent. March 19, 1885. Said to have contained the poem by Alice Wellington Rollins on "Whitman's Ride."

49:1528 (November 25, 1897). Whitman, Mary L. Whitman's ancestry.

54:2712-2713 (November 13, 1902. Review of Myron Eells' reply to Professor Bourne's "The Whitman legend." Favorable to Eells. Refers to de Saint-Amant's book.

Interior (Chicago). January 17, 1901. Whitman of Oregon.

February 14, 1901. Saved Oregon material.

Ithaca (N. Y.) Daily Journal. July 8, 1893. In regard to a proposed tablet in the new Presbyterian Church. Caption of article, "A dozen rich states gained through an Ithaca mission."

Journal of Education (Boston). January 24, 1901. Mowry, W. A. "Marcus Whitman, is the story history or tradition?"

Attacks Bourne.

60:491-492 (May 4, 1905). A plea for a just estimate of Whitman. Says questions regarding motives for his ride and causes of the massacre will probably never be settled.

Ladies Home Journal. 14, No. 12, p. 9-10 (November, 1897. Weed, George Ludington. When Dr. Whitman added three stars to our flag; how Oregon was saved to the Union.

Gives map showing Whitman's route. Drawing to illustrate the Fourth of July celebration in 1836.

Ladies Repository, September, 1868, p. 174-180. Hines, H. K. (of Fort Vancouver). "Waiiletpu."

Walla Walla dinner, arrival of the Red River colony, deep laid scheme. Says that the Ashburton treaty had not yet been executed in March, 1843.

Lewiston (Me.) Journal. March 5-10, 1904. Whitman, C. F. A two page illustrated article in the Magazine Section.

Saved Oregon story with many details.

Literary World. 32:119 (August 1, 1901). Review of Mowry's Marcus Whitman and the early days of Oregon.

Reviewer states that Dr. Mowry's book is a "decisive contribution' and "ought to settle finally" the question of Whitman's political influence.

Littell's Living Age. 19:66-67 (October 14, 1848). Osborn, Josiah. The massacre in Oregon.

Letters from Ohio, dated Oregon, April 7, 1848, from the Oquawka (Ill.) Spectator. A valuable contemporaneous account by a survivor.

Magazine of American History. 10:526 (December, 1883). A favorable review of Barrow's Oregon.

11:168-170 (February, 1884). Tyler, Lyon Gardiner. A letter relating to the policy of President Tyler's administration in regard to the Oregon question.

"At no time did the President [Tyler] contemplate abandoning any portion of that country without a proper equivalent—to any nation on the face of the earth."

12:193-210 (September, 1884). Lamb, Martha J. A glimpse of the valley of many waters.

Saved Oregon story based on Barrows. Illustrated.

Midland Monthly. October, 1896, p. 342-349. Phelps, William W. How Oregon was saved to the Union.

Ride story. Quotes Spalding's Exec. Doc. No. 37. Gives illustration of Whitman pleading for Oregon before Tyler and Webstre.

Missionary Herald (Boston). 32:26, 35-36 (January, 1836). Account of Parker and Whitman from letters received from them. Speaks of Whitman's return to St. Louis.

32:70-72 (February, 1836). Letter from Mr. Parker dated on Green River, August 17, 1835.

Prospects of the mission. Dr. Whitman's return to obtain associates. "I do hope that Dr. Whitman with others will be sent back by the next caravan, an dthus a year or more be saved in bringing a knowledge of the Savior to these people." p. 71.

32:162 (April, 1836). Departure of Whitman and Spalding about March 1 for their field of labors.

32:268 (July, 1836). Note saying that Mr. Parker had found a desirable opening for missionary stations.

32:317 (August, 1836). Notice regarding Dr. Whitman and Messrs. Spalding and Gray en route for Oregon.

32:445 (November, 1836). Report based on a letter received from Mr. Parker. Claims a good field for missions. Mentions kindness of H. B. Co.

33:122-124 (March, 1837). Letter from Mr. Spalding dated July 8, 1836, written from the Green River rendezvous.

Tells of an Indian delegation come to meet them and go back with them to the Walla Walla country.

Letter from Mr. Parker from the Sandwich Islands, dated September 24, 1836. This very interesting letter tells of the country in the region of Spokane and Colville. Kindness of H. B. Co. Says that they and the U. S. traders had borne practically all of his expenses so that he had paid out less than two dollars in money from the time he left Council

Missionary Herald—*Continued.*

Bluffs on the Missouri until he reached the Sandwich Islands, p. 124.

33:24 (January, 1837). The movements of Messrs. Parker and Whitman and the prospects for missionary work among the Indians.

33:317 (July, 1837). Return of Samuel Parker.

33:348-349 (August, 1837). Announces the arrival of Whitman, Spalding and Gray at Fort Walla Walla on September 3, 1836. On October 3, they had selected their stations.

33:369-371 (September, 1837). Extracts from the journal of Mr. Parker. The Oregon Indians.

33:421-428 (October, 1837). Letter from Mr. Spalding dated at Fort Vancouver, September 20, 1836. Much valuable information in regard to the founding of the mission.

33:497-501 (December, 1837). Letter from Mr. Spalding in regard to the prospects for the mission.

34:92-95 (March, 1838). Extracts from a letter from Mr. Gray who asks for more missionaries.

34:237 (June, 1838). Sending of reinforcements to the Oregon mission.

34:386-388 (October, 1838). Letter from Mr. Spalding dated September 4, 1837, written from Fort Colville where he had proceeded to obtain supplies for his station. Nearly a full page letter from Dr. Whitman dated March 12, 1838, telling about the Indians and the mission. All their books used in teaching had been furnished by the Methodist mission at Willamette.

35:14 (January, 1839). Abstract of the Annual Report of the A. B. C. F. M., with brief statement covering the Oregon mission.

35:44 (January, 1839). Receipt of letters from Messrs. Eells, Smith, Walker and Gray, dated at Fort Hall, July 30, on their way to recruit Whitman and Spalding.

35:269 (July, 1839). Arrival of Eells, Smith, Walker and Gray at Walla Walla on August 29, 1838.

35:446 (November, 1839). Arrival of Mr. Hall at Walla Walla with printing press, type and paper.

35:472-475 (December, 1839). Letters from Messrs. Walker and Spalding. Among other interesting things, is told how the Indians help dig the mill race for Dr. Whitman.

35:484-485 (December, 1839). Death of Alice Whitman. Mr. Hall at work printing an elementary text-book in the Nez Perces language.

36:15, 33-34 (Januarv, 1840). Abstract of the Annual Report of A. B. C. F. M. Gives brief biographical data in regard to the various missionaries of the Oregon mission.

36:230-231 (June, 1840). Letter from Mr. Spalding dated October 2, 1839. Drought and failure of crops. Commencement of printing.

Missionary Herald—*Continued.*

36:326-329 (August, 1840). "Letter from Mr. Smith, dated at Kameah, Aug. 27th, 1839."

Valuable information regarding the missions. Says they cannot become self-supporting. Tells of the Indian superstition regarding medicine men. The coming of the Papists.

News from a letter from Doct. Whitman, dated Waiilatpu, Oct. 22, 1839.

Says the Indians like books in their own language.

36:437-441 (November, 1840). Letters from the various stations.

Eells, Feb. 25, 1840. Interesting letter with much information about the Indians and the methods used at the mission, p. 437-439.

Whitman, March 27, 1840. Letter telling of the handicap to mission work caused by the migratory habits of the Indians. Publication of a 52-page book, 800 copies, p. 439.

Spalding, March 16, 1840. Letter regarding his work with the Nez Perces.

37:14-15 (January, 1841). Abstract of the Report of the A. B. C. F. M., annual meeting September, 1840. Mentions members of each station. Brief progress report.

37:405 (September, 1841). "Letters have been received from the missionaries dated as late as 23rd March. At some of the stations the usual labors were going on prosperously, while at others there was opposition, and the prospects were disheartening."

37:436 (October, 1841). Letter from Doct. Whitman, March 28, 1841. Speaks of the work of the mission.

38:9-11 (January, 1842). Abstract of the Annual Report. Mention of the printing of the second book in the Nez Perces language.

39:14-15 (January, 1843). Abstract of the Annual Report. Gives the "destructive order" of the A. B. C. F. M. Mentions the coming of a papal priest for missionary work.

39:14 (January, 1843). Destructive order of the A. B. C. F. M. Cited by Bancroft, Oregon, v. 1, p. 341.

39:81-82 (February, 1843). Letter from Mr. Eells, March 1, 1841.

Gives information in regard to the missions.

39:356-359 (September, 1843). "Report of Doct. Whitman."

Introductory remarks. States the destructive order and that Whitman had gone East at the instance of the mission to consult the Prudential Committee in regard to it and that they had decided to continue operations without change. "Another object of Doct. Whitman in making the above mentioned visit, was to procure additional laborers." Nothing said of a political purpose. Whitman's report on the mission covers over two pages and is most interesting.

39:398 (October, 1843). "Doct. Whitman was one hundred miles west of Laramie's Fork, Black Hills, on the 20th

Missionary Herald--*Continued.*

of July. The Indians at his station were very anxious for his return. One of them said to Mrs. Whitman, 'O, that I could eat the word of God to the full!"

40:12 (January, 1844). Annual survey of the Mission. Encouraging progress reported at Waiilatpu and Clearwater. Arrival of the 1843 immigration. Printing press. Papists planning to occupy the country.

40:105 (March, 1844). Brief reference to Oregon mission. "Some fears of hostile movements had disturbed their quiet at one time.

40:175 (May, 1844). Letter from Whitman, November, 1843.

Account of his return trip and arrival at the mission. Urges need of a minister for Waiilatpu, one who could meet the Romanists. Need of a good class of immigrants. "This country must be occupied by Americans or foreigners; if it is by the latter, they will be mostly papists."

40:384-385 (November, 1844). Letter from Mr. Eells, March 23, 1844. Has much to say in regard to Indian character.

40:385-386 (November, 1844). Letter from Dr. Whitman, April 13, 1844. In regard to Indian disturbances.

41:11 (January, 1845). Annual survey of the missions of the Board. "Jealousy of the white people seems to be awakened among the Indians, which may affect the mission unfavorably."

41:56-57 (February, 1845). Letter from Mr. Spalding, April 8, 1841. Work and sickness.

41:284 (August, 1845). Quotes from a letter from Whitman in regard to examination of candidates for admission to the church.

42:13 (January, 1846). Annual survey. Reports that the natives are rapidly advancing in the knowledge of agriculture and the means of living comfortably.

43:12 (January, 1847). Annual survey. "While there is an increase of religious knowledge, there is also more of cavilling and opposition.....One of the gospels has been translated and printed."

44:11 (January, 1848). Annual survey.

44:104 (March, 1848). Brief report making mention of strong reinforcements to the Catholic mission.

44:237-241 (July, 1848). Letter from Mr. Spalding, dated January 8, 1848.

Gives brief biography of Whitman. Spalding tells of the massacre, of his escape and of the ransom of the captives. "Too much praise cannot be awarded to the Hudson's Bay Company, especially to Mr. Ogden, for their timely, prompt, judicious and Christian efforts. We owe it, under a kind Providence, to the efforts of Messrs. Ogden and Douglass that we are alive at this place today." Gives map of Oregon Territory.

Missionary Herald—*Continued.*

44:370 (October, 1848). Gloomy outlook reported for the mission.

45:12 (January, 1849). Annual survey. Taking over of the Methodist station at the Dalles. Kindness of H. B. Co.

45:68 (February, 1849). Rescue of Walker and Eells.

45:405 (November, 1849). "The efforts of the Board in behalf of these Indians may be considered as at an end."

46:13 (January, 1850). Annual survey. Formal statement of the close of the Oregon mission.

December, 1866. A six page article by Cushing Eells claiming political influence for Whitman. Cited by Bancroft, Oregon, v. 1, 341.

March, 1869, p. 76. Story that General Clark refused the Flatheads the "Bible.' Says that Clark was a Catholic. Cited by Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, Mss. v. 2, p. 21.

65:314-316 (October, 1869). Condemning Browne's Report, Exec. Doc. No. 38 (Brouillet) and the wrong done by Congress. Blames Catholics.

February and September, 1885. Articles by Rev. Thomas Laurie.

Replies to Victor and Evans. Same reprinted as a 24p. pamphlet. Astoria. Snyder. 1866.

Missionary review of the world. July and August, 1888. Cited by M. Eells in his list of Whitman references (Seattle Daily Times, April 12, 1903) as containing 11 pages of material by J. W. Bashford.

25:641-653 (September, 1902). Brain, Belle M. The true story of Marcus Whitman.

Illustrations. Map. Mowry cited as good authority.

Nation. 76:109 (February 5, 1903). Crandall, F. A. "Contentious public 'documents.'"

On the occasion of a reprint of Spalding's Executive Document, No. 37. Government should keep out of missionary squabbles. Same article in N. Y. Post, Feb. 7, 1903.

76:169-170 (February 26, 1903). Wilson, J. R. "Whitman and Oregon." Letter to the effect that people in Oregon have not accepted Bourne's conclusions in regard to Whitman. De Saint-Amant's testimony discussed.

New Haven Evening Register, February 19, 1901. Long article by J. Wilder Fairbank in which the name of Whitman is linked with that of Lincoln.

New York Christian Advocate, see Christian Advocate.

New York Evening Post, February 7, 1903. Crandall's "Contentious public 'documents'" as in the Nation of February 28, 1903.

Wilson's reply to Crandall.

New York Observer. October 25, 1866. Treat, S. B. A missionary patriot.

Speech at the meeting of the American Board. Eulogizes the missionaries. Says that Whitman got specimens of gold ore to prove the value of the country.

December 22, 1870. The Oregon mission and the U. S. Govt.

Calls for printing Spalding's antidote.

December 7, 1882.

December 21, 1882.

January 4, 1883.

January 11, 1883.

January 18, 1883.

January 25, 1883.

February 1, 1883.

The above seven articles written by Rev. William Barrows glorify Whitman as the Savior of Oregon. They were later thrown together as his "Oregon, the struggle for possession."

New York Sun. January 17, 1885 (?).

March 3, 1901. "A good statement of the legend and its summary execution at the hands of Prof. Bourne of Yale."

February 11, 1903. "The Marcus Whitman legend—demolished by Prof. Bourne of Yale and revived in a government document."

Deplores the reprint by the government of Spalding's Executive Document, No. 37.

March 15, 1908. Said to have contained ¾ column interview, in London, with Prof. Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon. For results of Prof. Schafer's researches in the British Archives, see statement under American Historical Review, 14:79 (October, 1908).

New York Times Saturday Review of Books. March 12, 1904. Dodd's review of Johnson's Century of Expansion.

March 19, 1904. W. F. Johnson replies stating that Everett had credited Whitman with saving Oregon.

March 26, 1904. Prof. Bourne calls for the proof.

New York Tribune, March 29, 1843. Said to have contained an editorial by Greeley on Whitman's visit to New York.

Copied in Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society, 4:168-169 (June, 1903).

New York Voice. January 13, 1898. Saved Oregon story based upon Nixon.

Niles Register. A careful search through the entire file covering the period of Whitman's life in Oregon, barring an occasional missing number, failed to reveal any mention of Whitman. There is much relating to Oregon, especially Congressional action, speeches, etc.

North British Review, September, 1844.

The writer calls attention of the English to the necessity of colonizing Oregon. Quoted by John Minto in Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1876, p. 36.

North Pacific Coast (New Tacoma, Wash).

1:85-87, 91 (March 1, 1880). Massacre.

1:101-103 (March 15, 1880). Massacre.

1:123-125 (April 1, 1880). Ride.

Three articles by Elwood Evans in regard to the life and services of Dr. Whitman. A critical examination of the saved Oregon story, written 20 years before Professor Bourne published "The legend of Marcus Whitman."

Northwest Magazine (St. Paul, Minn.?). August, 1895, p. 22. Contains favorable review of Nixon's How Marcus Whitman saved Oregon.

Occident. June 4, 1874. Whitman material in the form of resolutions. Clipping in the Spalding Scrapbook.

Ontario (N. Y.) County Times. November 26, 1902. Smith, Charles James. The Principal of the Rushville High School writes a long saved Oregon article but adds nothing new to the controversy.

Oquawka (Ill.) Spectator. Cited by Littell's Living Age as containing the letter of Josiah Osborn, dated April 7, 1848, in regard to the massacre. See Littell's Living Age, 19:66-67 (October 14, 1848).

Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist.

1, No. 1:12-15 (undated). Spalding, H. H. Letter dated Feb. 18, 1848, to the Editor of the Oregon Spectator.

In this letter Spalding explains why shortly after the massacre, he wrote favorably of McBean and the H. B. Co., his object being to secure good treatment for himself and the refugees. Now he is ready to tell the truth about the Catholics.

1, No. 2:23-27 (June 21, 1848). Letter from Alanson Hinman asking two pertinent questions in regard to Mr. McBean's conduct at the time of the massacre.

Spalding, H. H. History of the Waiilatpu massacre.

The first article in the Burnett series. Gives names of those present at the time of the massacre. States that many were there against Whitman's wishes.

1, No. 3:35-37 (July 5, 1848). Osborn, Josiah. Affidavit in regard to escape from massacre.

Throws blame upon Mr. McBean of the H. B. Co. for not showing greater hospitality.

1, No. 3:37 (July 5, 1848). "True American." Dr. Whitman's death foretold.

States that Mr. McBean had tried to buy Whitman's station shortly before the massacre and on Dr. Whitman's refusing to sell, he had said that the Indians would kill him if he staid.

Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist—*Continued.*

1, No. 3:38-40 (July 5. 1848). Correspondence between Spalding and Burnett in regard to their discussion of the Whitman massacre.

1, No. 4:49-54 (July 19, 1848). Spalding, H. H. History of the Waiilatpu massacre, continued.

Details of the massacre. Much in regard to the Catholic ladder.

1, No. 5:65-68 (August 2, 1848). Spalding, H. H. History of the Waiilatpu massacre, continued.

Note. In the file examined, pages 69-82 are missing.

1, No. 6:83-87 (?). Burnett, Peter H. Reply to Spalding.

Claims that Spalding has been unfair and underhanded.

1, No. 6:87-93 (?) "Review of Mr. Douglas' letter [continued]"

Anti-Catholic.

1, No. 7:106-108 (March 1, 1849). Spalding, H. H. History of the Waiilatpu massacre, continued.

Especially in regard to the escape of Messrs. Canfield and Kimble.

1, No. 7:108-109 (March 1, 1849). Anti-Catholic depositions in regard to threat to have Whitman killed.

1, No. 8:113-128 (May 23, 1849). Editorial note in regard to Burnett's running off with Charley, the printer. This is the end of the magazine. Entire number devoted to Anti-Catholic material.

Note. Copies of this magazine are exceedingly rare. With the exception of parts of No. 5 and No. 6, Mr. Bagley, of Seattle, has the complete file of 8 numbers. Whitman College Library has several numbers. The Oregon Historical Society has the complete file.

Oregon Historical Society. Quarterly.

1:41-45 (March, 1900). Robertson, James R. The genesis of political authority in Oregon.

Holds that Whitman was influential but not vital to the Oregon cause.

1:60-65 (March, 1900). Condon, Thomas. The process of selection in Oregon pioneer settlement.

"Doctor Whitman seems to have had a mild monomania on the subject of ox teams drawing plain Missouri wagons from Fort Independence to the Columbia at Wallula."

1:84-85 (March, 1900). Matthieu, F. X. Reminiscences collected by H. S. Lyman.

"In person he recalls Whitman as not very tall, rather slender in build, and of strongly Yankee style." Hair dark. Mention of McLoughlin's kindness to Whitman.

1:241-242 (Sept., 1900). Wilson, Joseph R. The Oregon question.

Credits Whitman with large political influence.

Oregon Historical Society—*Continued.*

1:351 (December, 1900). Young, F. G. The Oregon trail.

Speaking of Whitman, says, "He did go to Washington and he urged the importance of American interests in Oregon upon Pres. Tyler and some members of his cabinet."

1:379-81 (December, 1900). Applegate, Jesse. With the cow column in 1843.

Reprinted from the Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association for 1876.

2:268-83 (September, 1901). Hinman, Alanson. Reminiscences collected by James B. Robertson.

Hinman, at 79 years of age, discusses Whitman's aid to pioneers, relations with Catholics and the massacre. He was with Whitman at Waiilatpu in 1844-45. Was at the Dalles at the time of the massacre. Thinks Bourne was incorrect in his statements.

3:220 (Sept., 1902). Minto, John. Sheep husbandry in Oregon.

Sheep at the Waiilatpu Mission in 1841. Whitman taught the Indians spinning and weaving.

3:281 (Sept., 1902). Jory, James. Reminiscences collected by H. S. Lyman.

Brief mention of Whitman.

3:292 (Sept., 1902). Brown, Mrs. Tabitha. Reminiscences collected by Jane Kinney Smith.

Whitman's suggestion that Christian families could make provisions for schools by acquiring contiguous donation claims and giving up part of the land for this purpose.

3:329-335 (December, 1902). Himes, George H. History of the press of Oregon.

An interesting account of the arrival and use of the printing press at Lapwai.

4:78-79 (March, 1903). McCarver, M. M. Letter to Hon. A. C. Dodge of Iowa immediately after the arrival of the immigration of 1843. (Reprinted from the Ohio Statesman, Sept. 11, 1844, taken from the Iowa Gazette where it was originally printed).

Estimates Whitman's services in accompanying the party out. "His knowledge of the route was considerable."

4:84-85 (March, 1903). Wood, Tallmadge, B. Letter to Isaac Nash, dated Oregon City, December 23, 1847.

Attributes the massacre to the measles. "It was in consequence of this that Dr. Whitman was killed as they held a malice against the whites for bringing the disorder into the country."

4:168-169 (June, 1903). Editorial from the New York Daily Tribune of March 29, 1843.

Whitman visited the Tribune office while in New York. Mention is here made of his personal appearance and of his

Oregon Historical Society—*Continued.*

missionary zeal but nothing is said of a political significance to his appearance in the East nor of his interest in securing emigrants for Oregon. This editorial is said to have been copied in full in the Boston Advertiser of March 31, 1843.

4:169-170 (June, 1903). "Civis." Cruising on the Sound.

A communication published in the New York Spectator of April 5, 1843. Speaks of Whitman's rough appearance as he was seen on the boat between New York and Boston.

No mention is made of the object of his trip.

4:177 (June, 1903). Copy of a letter in Iowa Gazette, July 8, 1843, copied into the New York Tribune (weekly), August 5, 1843.

This letter dated Kansas River, June 3, 1843, has some bearing upon Whitman's connection with the emigration of 1843.

4:253-254 (Sept., 1903). Cone, Anson Sterling. Reminiscences secured by H. S. Lyman.

"Whitman was a good man, he had a heart like an ox."

4:259-260 (Sept., 1903). Hopkins, Mrs. Rebeka. Reminiscences secured by H. S. Lyman.

Mrs. Hopkins, the daughter of Peter D. Hall, was at the Whitman station during the massacre as a girl of five years. Remembers the appearance of the room.

5:43-44 (March, 1904). Minto, John. Antecedents of the Oregon pioneers and the light they throw on their motives.

Unimportant.

5:67, 76-77 (March, 1904). Burnett, Peter H. Recollections and opinions of an old pioneer.

5:303-305 (Sept., 1904). Burnett, Peter H. Recollections and opinions of an old pioneer.

Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6 of Burnett's Recollections are reprinted in the Quarterly, the paging above given show the places where Whitman is mentioned.

7:96 (March, 1906). Johnson, Overton and Winter Wm. H. Route across the Rocky Mountains. (Reprinted.)

Brief mention of their arrival at Whitman's station.

7:190 (June, 1906). Johnson, Overton and Winter Wm. H. Route across the Rocky Mountains. (Reprinted).

Corn growing at the Whitman mission.

8:403-405 (December, 1907). Munger, Asahel and Eliza. Diary of Asahel Munger and wife.

Conditions at the Station, September 2-3, 1843. A valuable side light.

9:107, 114-118, 125 (June, 1908). Elliott, T. C. "'Doctor' Robert Newell: pioneer."

Newell pioneered the way for wagons from Fort Hall to Walla Walla. He named one of his sons "Marcus Whitman."

Oregon Native Son.

1:9 (May, 1899). Mentions Alice Whitman as the first white child born west of the Rockies.

1:27-29 (May, 1899). Letter dated Waiilatpu, July 7, 1842, from Narcissa Whitman to Maria Pambrun.

Said not to have been previously published. Adds nothing to the Whitman controversy.

1:62 (June, 1899). Portraits of survivors of the Whitman massacre.

1:63-65 (June, 1899). Denny, Mrs. Owen N. An interview with a survivor of the Whitman massacre.

Mrs. Denny was a child at the mission and remembers the massacre.

1:126-129 (July, 1899). Hampton, F. Who saved Oregon?

"To acclaim the Doctor [Whitman] 'the Savior of Oregon' is to claim more than the facts will warrant." His mission to Washington may have been to secure aid from a "secret service fund."

1:311-314 (October, 1899). Frederick, S. H. A pioneer patriot.

An uncritical account of Whitman's career containing many errors of fact.

1:471-472 (February, 1900). Eells, Myron. Concerning Dr. Marcus Whitman.

In a letter to the editor of the Native Son contributing extracts from two letters written by Whitman, Mr. Eells maintains that Whitman claimed credit for the Americanization of Oregon.

1:573 (April, 1900). Hines, H. K. Some historical inaccuracies.

Statement in regard government of the Oregon Mission of the A. B. C. F. M. Whitman was not superintendent.

2:60 (June, 1900). Portraits of survivors of the massacre.

2:120-124 (July-August, 1900). Indian war history errors.

Myron Eells points out mistakes of Mrs. Victor. Somewhat bitter criticism of Mrs. Victor's "pretended history."

2:126-128 (July-August, 1900). Riddell, H. H. The Dalles, Oregon, 1858.

In regard to the transfer of the Dalles Mission in 1847 from the Methodists to Dr. Whitman.

2:145-149 (July-August, 1900). Walker, Cyrus H. Address before the Oregon Pioneer Association.

Mr. Walker, son of Rev. Elkanah Walker, was born at the mission, Dec. 7, 1838. His address has no bearing on controverted points.

2:273-275 (November, 1900). Bode, Minnie M. The Whitman massacre, November, 1847; to the survivors, June, 1897.

A poem. Illustrations of the scene of the massacre.

Oregon Pioneer Association. Transactions.

1874, p. 68, 81. Thornton, J. Quinn. History of the provisional government of Oregon.

Says Whitman saved Oregon, p. 68. Speaks of Whitman's influence in persuading Thornton to go to Washington to procure the passage of a law organizing territorial government for Oregon, p. 81.

1875, p. 28. Deady, Matthew P. Annual address.

Mentions the Congregational missions. Speaks of Whitman's return to the East but does not state its object.

p. 45, 47-48. Nesmith, J. W. Occasional address.

Mentions Whitman's visit to Washington "to intercede in behalf of the American interests on this coast," p. 45. Whitman as guide in 1843, p. 47-48.

1876, p. 63-64. Applegate, Jesse. A day with the cow column of 1843.

Speaks of Whitman "that good angel" of the emigrants.

1877, p. 22-23, 35-36. Evans, Elwood. Annual address.

Statements of Robert Newell in regard to the bringing of the first wagon to Walla Walla, in 1840. At the arrival at the mission, Whitman congratulates Newell on "having broken the ice." The Indians crowd around the wagons which they call "horse canoes."

Evans speaks in high terms of Whitman as a friend alike of Indian and emigrant.

p. 69-70. Atkinson, G. H. Rev. Elkinah Walker.

Brief references to the mission and the massacre.

1878, p. 15-16. Thornton, J. Quinn. Annual address.

Indian superstition is given as the cause of the Whitman massacre.

1880, p. 22-23. Nesmith, J. W. Annual address.

Whitman's personality. Massacre not instigated by the Catholics. Missionaries in general have been given undue credit for self-sacrifice.

p. 52-54. McLoughlin, John. Copy of a document written in McLoughlin's handwriting. Found among his papers.

McLoughlin warned Whitman before the massacre of Indian ill-feeling. Speaks of overhearing an Indian say, "It is good for us to kill these Bostons," which sentiment McLoughlin rebuked and which incident he reported to Whitman.

1881, p. 14-17. Crawford, Medorum. Occasional address.

A pioneer of 1842. Tells of his arrival at Dr. Whitman's as he was preparing to leave for the East. Gives Dr. W. direct credit for the immigration of 1843, which he says "practically settled the question of occupation by American citizens of this then disputed territory."

1882, p. 10-11, 22-23. Kelly, James K. Annual address.

Says Whitman was influential in saving Oregon to the Union. Mentions the massacre.

p. 74-75. Whitman quoted as authority for the statement that Oregon was a good wheat country.

Oregon Pioneer Association. Transactions—*Continued*.

1883, p. 18. Hill, W. Lair. Annual address.

Refers to Whitman and Benton as the prophets of Oregon.

1884, p. 32-35. Tolmie, W. Fraser. Letter to the Oregon Pioneer Association.

Written to correct misrepresentations of Gray and Barrows. Accounts for the massacre on grounds of Indian superstition. Some details of the watermelon incident when Spalding placed tartar emetic in watermelons to prevent the Indians from stealing them. Holds Catholic priests were blameless.

1888, p. 20-24. Condon, Thomas. Annual address.

Gives Whitman credit for demonstrating the possibility of a wagon road to Oregon.

p. 41, 48-50, 56. An unsigned sketch of Dr. John McLoughlin in which Whitman is given incidental eulogistic mention.

p. 71. Driver, I. D. Annual address before the Indian War veterans.

Brief mention of the Whitman massacre.

p. 114-116. Parrish, Edward Evans. Crossing the plains in 1844 (Diary).

Parrish worked for Dr. Whitman. Was at the mission from October 23 to November 2, 1844.

1889, p. 31-32. Kelley, James K. Occasional address.

Whitman mission and massacre.

p. 79-80, 87-88a. Eells, Myra F. Journal kept while passing through the United States and over the Rocky Mountains in the Spring and Summer of 1838.

Mentions kindness of the H. B. Co. Arrives at the mission August 29. Description of Dr. Whitman's house. Some account of the missionary plans.

p. 91-93. McKay, W. C. Additional light on the Whitman matter.

Letter dated Pendleton, Oregon, Jan. 30, 1885, in which McKay says that he received a letter from Whitman dated at Washington, D. C., in 1843, which fact settles the discussion as to whether Whitman went to Washington.

p. 94-97. Lang, Herbert. The pioneer printing press of the Pacific Coast.

Story of the printing press brought from Honolulu to Spalding's station at Lapwai in 1839. This was the first printing press in the Pacific Northwest.

1890, p. 71. Mrs. Nancy Morrison, the Oregon pioneer woman.

An unsigned article. Mentions the incident of the Whitmans adopting the Sager children.

1891, p. 40-68. Whitman, Mrs. Marcus. A journey across the plains in 1836.

Covers June 27 to October 18, 1836. An extremely valuable source. Manuscript secured by Myron Eells from eastern relatives. Not published in full.

Oregon Pioneer Association. Transactions—*Continued.*

1891, p. 68-78. Whitman, Marcus. Letter to the Secretary of War, James M. Porter, written in 1843, enclosing synopsis of a proposed bill prepared by him, entitled "A bill to promote safe intercourse with the territory of Oregon, to suppress violent acts of aggression on the part of certain Indian tribes west of the Indian territory, Neocho, better protect the revenue, for the transportation of the mail, and for other purposes."

These are copies from the original documents on file in the office of the Secretary of War and are extremely important in their bearing upon Whitman's political activity.

p.79-176. Whitman, Mrs. Marcus. Letters written by Mrs. Whitman from Oregon to her relatives in New York.

Thes letters are full of interesting details in regard to every phase of the mission work. They are of first importance in the light they throw upon Whitman's acts and motives. They bear the following dates: For the year 1836, March 15, 28, 29, 30, 31, April 2, 4, 7, December 5, 8, 26; for the year 1837, March 30, May 2 and 3; for the year 1838, March 14, 28, April 11, May 10, Sept. 18, 25, 28, Oct. 3, 6; for thes year 1839, Sept. 30 and Oct. 9; for the year 1840, April 30 and May 2; for the year 1841, Oct. 1, 6, 18, 19; for the year 1842, Feb. 2, 4, March 23, May 17, October 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 17, 22; and for the year 1843, February 7, March 6, May 27 and 28.

p. 177-179. Whitman, Marcus. Letters dated Shawnee Mission School, May 27, 1843, and May 28, 1843.

The second of these letters written to "Dear Brother Galusha" throws important light upon Whitman's connection with the emigration of 1843.

1893, p. 53-219. Whitman, Mrs. Marcus. Additional letters.

A total of sixty-seven letters written by Mrs. Whitman to Eastern relatives under dates ranging from January 1, 1840, to Oct. 12, 1847.

p. 64-65, 68-70, 109-110, 198-203. Whitman, Marcus. Letters.

Five letters under the following dates: May 16, 1844, April 8, 1844, June 4, 1836, May 15, 1846, and November 5, 1846. These letters throw light upon the estimate which Whitman placed upon his own work.

p. 83-86. Rogers, Andrew, Jr. Letters to Miss Jane A. Prentiss dated, Tshamakin, April 22, 1846.

Side light upon the Whitmans.

p. 93-103. Spalding, H. H. Letters dated Oregon City, April 6, 1848, "To Stephen Prentiss, Esq., and Mrs. Prentiss, the Father and Mother of the late Mrs. Whitman of the Oregon Mission."

Spalding's contemporaneous account of the massacre. Praises Mr. Ogden of the H. B. Co. for deliverance and ransom of the captives.

Oregon Pioneer Association. Transactions—*Continued.*

1895. p. 73-74. Barlow, Miss M. S. Reminiscences of Oregon pioneers.

Follows Gray and Barrows with the Indian delegation to St. Louis in 1832, H. B. Co's. hostility to a wagon road and Whitman's interview with Webster and Tyler.

1896, p. 101. Shortess, Robert. First emigrants to Oregon.

Arrival of the 1839 immigration at the Whitman mission. States that Whitman's labors were thwarted by "Jesuitical and Popish intolerances."

p. 113-119. Young, J. Q. A. The Whitman massacre related by one of the survivors.

p. 120-128. Wilson, Mrs. E. M. The last day at Waiilatpue.

Memories of Mrs. Elizabeth Sager Helm who was in the massacre, aged eleven years.

p. 129-130. Himes, Geo. H. List of all present at Waiilatpue at the time of the massacre.

From a list made by Peter Skeen Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company. Gives ages and some other information.

1897, p. 61-62. Barnett, John. Occasional address.

Eulogium upon Dr. Whitman. Implies that Whitman went East in 1842-43 to influence the government to secure Oregon to the United States.

p. 106-120. Eells, Myron. Rev. H. H. Spalding, Mrs. E. H. Spalding and Mrs. R. J. Spalding.

Covers various points in the history of the Whitman mission.

p. 130-140. Eells, Myron. Mrs. Mary Richardson Walker.

Some information in regard to the Whitman station.

1900, p. 35-48. Walker, Cyrus H. Occasional address.

Walker was born at the station, December 7, 1838. Quotes from his mother's diary. Has some memories of the time of the massacre.

1902, p. 100-103. McBride, T. A. Annual address.

Asserts that Oregon was safe long before Whitman's ride, that in fact it was never in danger.

1903, p. 189-195. Kimball, Nathan. Recollections of the Whitman massacre.

The story of a survivor. Gives harrowing details but adds little information upon controverted points.

Oregon Spectator. December 10, 1847. Letter from Hinman to Abernathy in regard to the massacre. see Bancroft, Ore. 1:667, note.

January 20, 1848. Contains Gov. Abernathy's letter of thanks to Peter Skeen Ogden for rescuing the captives of the Whitman massacre. List is given of those massacred. Cited by Bancroft, Oregon, v. 1, p. 647-648.

Oregon Statesman (Salem). August 11, 1855. Has been cited as containing a statement to the effect that Spalding was insane.

Oregonian (Portland). November 6-7, 1884. Mrs. Victor on Marcus Whitman. Important article with ample footnote references. Whitman's political influence questioned.

December 9, 1884. Reply by E. C. Ross.

December 26, 1884. Elwood Evans states that Whitman's journey had no political influence.

January 11, 1885. M. Eells' reply to Mrs. Victor and Elwood Evans.

February 1, 1885. W. H. Gray to the rescue. This article was reprinted as a pamphlet. Portland. 1885.

February 8, 1885. Eells replies to Evans.

February 15, 1885. E. C. Ross.

March 15, 1885. Evans replies to Ross. Long article.

March 20 ,1885. Evans again.

May 21, 1885. M. Eells replies to Evans.

October 27, 1895. Hines, H. K. "An extended review of the Whitman romance."

Copied from the Pacific Christian Advocate of October 24, 1895. Claims that Whitman did not save Oregon.

November 21, 1895. Himes, George H. Reply to H. K. Hines' criticism of Nixon et al.

An able defense of pro-Whitman statements.

February 17, 1897. Regarding Whitman monument with an Ogden document about the massacre.

January 30, 1898. Regarding the reinterment on January 29 of the bones of the victims of the massacre.

September 1, 1901. M. Eells replies to Bourne.

March 26, ? . Bourne's article from the Sunday School Ttimes.

September 3, 1902. Marshall's review of Mowry's "Marcus Whitman." Long article entitled "Evisceration of Dr. W. A. Mowry's book on the Whitman myth."

October 26, 1902. Mowry's reply to Marshall.

January 18, 1903. M. Eells replies to Marshall.

February 2, 1903. Prof. Schafer on the status of the Whitman question. In the same number C. Johnson in an article "Examining the myth" stands by Marshall.

February 8, 1903. Marshall defends his review of Mowry.

March 29, 1903. Professor Schafer replies to Marshall.

May 31, 1903. M. Eells reviews Bourne.

September 13, 1903} Marshall on the authorship and
September 20, 1903} value of the account of the migra-
September 27, 1903} tion of 1843 to Oregon, which was published as Part 2, of Wilkes, Geo. "History of Oregon." N. Y. 1845. Says Burnett kept the journal. States that Burnett's Old Pioneer was written immediately after he had heard and been influenced by the Whitman saved Oregon story.

Oregonian (Portland)—*Continued.*

November 1, 1903. Professor Schafer discusses the value of Wilkes' Oregon as a Whitman source.

March 26,1905.
August 20,1905.
August 27, 1905.
September 3, 1905.
} Marshall's Hudson's Bay Co's. Archives furnish no support to the Whitman saved Oregon story.

August 13, 1905.
August 20, 1905.
August 27, 1905
} Seven pure fictions of the Whitmanites.

September 10,1905.
December 10, 1905.
December 17, 1905.
} Seven mistakes of Marshall.

July 8, 1906.
July 15, 1906.
} Marshall's reply entitled, "Rev. Myron Eells finds a mare's nest."

August 5, 1906. Eells, M. Long article in regard to the Whitman monument debt.

March 10, 1907.
May 5, 1907.
} Echoes of the controversy by C. T. Johnson.

Outburst (Spokane, Wash.). February 8, 1896. "How Durham saved Whitman."

Mr. Durham, editor of the Spokesman-Review, has evidently taken part in the Whitman controversy, but the compiler has not examined the files of this newspaper.

Outlook, 57:879-880 (December 4, 1897). Dr. Marcus Whitman. Notice of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the massacre. Credits the saved Oregon story.

89:199 (May 23, 1908). Bruce H. Addington. Thomas Hart Benton and the occupation of Oregon.

Alludes to theWhitman "legend." States that Whitman went East to save his mission, not Oregon. In reply to the emphasis here placed upon Benton's services, see letter of T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, Wash., in Outlook, 89:869-870 (August 15, 1908).

Overland Monthly. o. s. 1:127-133 (August, 1868). Applegate, Jesse. A day with the cow column.

Reminiscences of Whitman and the migration of 1843. Often quoted.

o. s. 3:148-159 (August, 1869). Victor, Mrs. F. F. Manifest destiny of the West.

In this article, Mrs. Victor sanctions the Walla Walla dinner story with the announcement of the Red River Immigration as a basis for Whitman's ride.

o. s. 6:297-306 (April, 1871). St. Mathew, John H. The Northwest boundary.

Whitman's ride. Condemns the H. B. Co. Says Whitman's devotion to his country was probably the cause of the massacre.

Pacific.

May 25, 1865.
June 1, 1865.
June 8, 1865.
June 15, 1865.
June 22, 1865.
June 29, 1865.
July 6, 1865.

Spalding, H. H. History of Indian affairs among the Nez Perces.

September 14, 1865. Early missionary labors among the Indians of Oregon.

September 28, 1865. Two missionary ladies saved this Coast to the United States of America. Dr. Whitman's services to the emigrant route.

October 19, 1865. Dr. Whitman's winter journey.

November 9, 1865. Dr. Whitman's successful mission at Washington. The codfishery story.

Spalding's original version of the Saved Oregon story. Has been often cited as the first printed account of the "Whitman legend."

Note. Seven out of these eleven articles are scrapped in the Whitman College Library. Verbatim copies are given in Marshall's Acquisition of Oregon, Mss. v. 2, p. 108-118. Typewritten copies are also in the Marshall Collection owned by Mr. C. B. Bagley of Seattle

60:17-18 (September 7, 1905). Himes, George H. Oregon letter.

Refers to the Historical Congress in Portland at which both Bourne and Marshall were present. Expresses the hope that all of the Oregon correspondence of the American Board may soon be published.

58:10-11 (July 30, 1908). Himes, George H. Letter in regard to the death of Alanson Hinman, July 20, 1908. Gives some account of his connection with the Oregon Mission and estimates the value of his recollections.

Pacific Advance (Seattle, Wash.), 1, No. 10 (December, 1895). Eells, Myron. Who saved Oregon?

Long article scoring H. K. Hines and defending his own position in regard to Whitman.

Pacific Christian Advocate. December 13, 1883.

Cited by Mrs. Pringle in the Willamette Farmer of February 1, 1884, as containing a review of Barrow's Oregon by Mr. Hines in which the services of the Methodist missionaries are overestimated while the Congregationalists do not get their share of credit.

October 24, 1895. Hines, H. K. An extended review of the Whitman romance.

Copied in the Oregonian of October 27, 1895. Criticised by Geo. H. Himes in the Oregonian of November 21, 1895.

Pacific Monthly and Official Gazette (Portland, Ore.), No. 2, p. 8-10 (December, 1879). Scraps of Oregon history.

Mr. William T. Newby, a pioneer of 1843, says the impelling cause of that immigration was the introduction in Congress the previous year of Senator Linn's Donation bill. States that Senator Linn had widely distributed the Lewis and Clark Journals. Whitman, tho a good man, Mr. Newby considers has been overestimated.

No. 3, p. 97-100 (January, 1880). Story of the adventures of 16 pioneers sent by Governor Abernathy in January, 1848, to California to secure aid to fight the Indians—as a result of the Whitman massacre which is here mentioned.

Pacific Wave (Published by the Students of the University of Wash.) May 19, 1905. Whitworth, George F. Lecture to the students of the University of Washington on the Early history of Oregon territory.

Purpose of the ride was to save Oregon.

Pearson's Magazine. 9:523. Raine, William Macleod. Story of the states: Oregon.

Avoids the controversy.

Pioneer and Historical Society of Oregon. Proceedings.

1875, p. 13-15. Gray, W. H. Report on the Whitman monument fund. States the attempt of Elwood Evans to have the territory of Washington erect a monument to Whitman.

p. 21-24. Atkinson's address on Whitman.

Gives Walla Walla dinner story.

1876, p. 5-12. Atkinson's "American Colonist in Oregon," address at Astoria, February 22, 1876.

Saved Oregon. Walla Walla dinner.

p. 13-15. Lovejoy, A. Lawrence. Narrative of the winter trip of Dr. Marcus Whitman, across the Rocky Mountains, 1842. (Letter to Dr. Atkinson, dated Oregon City, February 14, 1876.

An important Whitman source which has been often copied.

1877, p. 5-12. Gray, W. H. President's address.

Much about Whitman. Attacks the Catholics. States that Whitman's ride to Washington was the cause of his death later on.

Portland Oregonian, see Oregonian.

Portland Weekly News. May 17, 1883. Hill, Almoran. Estimate of Whitman cited by Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, Mss. v. 2, p. 468-470.

Prattsburg (New York) Advertiser. March 26, 1869. Story of Whitman's interview with Webster in which he says that Simpson is then at Washington and that they are planning to trade Oregon for a codfishery.

Clipping of this article is in the Spalding Scrapbook at Whitman College Library.

Puyallup (Wash.) Valley Tribune. February 20, 1904, to January 7, 1905. Montgomery, Robert. History of the Puyallup.

Contains much material relating to Whitman, upon the negative side. Complete file has not been examined.

Recorder (Boston). May 4, 1843. Cited by Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, Mss. v. 2, p. 450, as containing a short statement to the effect that Dr. Whitman of the Oregon Mission had lately been in Boston and had returned to the field of his labors.

Revue des Deux Mondes. Mai 15, 1843, p. 538. Cited by Bourne. Essays in historical criticism, p. 79, as showing that even the French writers realized the importance which the United States placed upon the Oregon territory.

Sacramento Union. November 16, 1864. Cited by Marshall, Acquisition of Oregon, Mss. v. 2, p. 106, as containing the third printed version of the saved Oregon story, written by S. A. Clarke.

July 10, 1869. In regard to "Protestantism in Oregon." In the Spalding scrapbook.

Salem (Ore.) Statesman. August 18, 1895. Victor, Mrs. F. F. "Revival of the Whitman Romance."

San Francisco Call. July 14, 1901. Review of Mowry.

September 1, 1895. Nixon replies to Mrs. Victor's criticism of his book.

September 8, 1895. Mrs. Victor replies.

San Francisco Chronicle. August 30, 1896. "Claiming too much." A review of Mowry.

July 14, 1901. A review of Nixon.

San Francisco Daily Herald. June 1, 1850. Cited by Bancroft, Oregon, v. 1, p. 667, in regard to the Whitman massacre.

Sandwich Island News. 2:54-55. Said to have contained an account of the massacre.

Seattle Daily Times. January 4, 1901.

April 12, 1903. } Bagley, C. B. Beginning and growth
April 19, 1903. } of organized government in the Northwest. Contains a list of references prepared by Myron Eells. Mr. Bagley has high praise for Whitman, the missionary, but does not credit him with having political aspirations.

September 12, 1905. An account of the naming of the Seward School in Seattle. This school had been unofficially called the "Whitman School," but objection was made to the name on account of the Whitman controversy.

June 21, 1908, Magazine section, p. 3. A full page article with lurid illustrations of the mission and the massacre. Announces a movement towards placing statues of Whitman and Stevens in the Rotunda of the Capitol Building in Washington.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer. April 14, 1882. Letter from M. Eells in regard to Whitman's family.

February 26, 1885 (Weekly). Article by M. Eells.

October 22, 1897. Account of the disinterment of bones on Oct. 21 from the grave of the victims of the Whitman massacre. Gold in the tooth of Whitman's skull.

November 21, 1897. Article by Professor Edmond S. Meany on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Whitman massacre. Written to arouse interest in the Whitman monument fund.

December 8, 1897. "Did Whitman save Oregon?" Report of Father Flohr's lecture at Walla Walla in which he took a negative view.

December 12, 1897. Twyman O. Abbott suggests that Mt. Rainier be rechristened in honor of Dr. Marcus Whitman. Submits an act for presentation to Congress providing for such change.

February 10, 1898. Eells, M. "Justice to the memory of the worty dead." Says Spalding was so busy fighting the Catholics that he couldn't get the Whitman story published until 1863. States that the Oregon newspapers would not admit it to their columns.

March 29, 1899. Sherwood, Laveine. "The ride that saved Oregon." A poem.

December 29, 1899. Cox, H. R. Address on the history of Washington.

Saved Oregon story.

March 19, 1905. Diary of Mrs. H. H. Spalding.

November 28, 1907. Account of the 60th anniversary of the Whitman massacre.

August 27, 1908, Section 1, p. 8. Turner, George. Address before the American Bar Association in Seattle, August 26, 1908, on "The acquisition of the Pacific Northwest."

Saved Oregon Story. Walla Walla dinner with the start for Washington next day. States that Whitman met Webster, Tyler, Calhoun and Benton at the National Capitol.

Seattle Public Library Bulletin. 5:67-68 (September, 1905). Banks, Mary. Reading list on "Dr. Marcus Whitman."

Spokesman-Review (Spokane, Wash.). November 26, 1905. "John A.Stoughton of Cheney, Wash., declares Whitman told him facts."

Mr. Stoughton was an emigrant of 1843. At the age of 75, he tells the saved Oregon story with some variations to Barrows. States that Whitman saw Webster and President Polk! and got a delay of the treaty then pending with England.

Sunday School Times. August 2, 1902. Controversy opened.

August 9, 1902. Griffis, W. E. "Marcus Whitman and his wagon wheel."

August 23, 1902. Weed, G. L. "My memories of Marcus Whitman."

Sunday School Times—*Continued.*

"Three W's—Whitman, woman, wagon—helped to save Oregon. That wagon may be compared without irreverance to the ark—Need fancy be restrained if Women's Missionary Boards find in the two cherubim of the ark symbols of the two women in the wagon—Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding."

September 27, 1902. Professor Lamberton questions whether Whitman really went East to save Oregon. The editor of the Times calls for evidence.

November 1, 1902. Bourne's article based largely on the records of the A. B. C. F. M.

November 15, 1902. Mowry and Jonathan Edwards take part.

November 22, 1902. Letter from Eells.

November 29, 1902. Controversy continued.

December 13, 1902. Controversy continued.

December 29, 1902. Controversy continued.

January 10, 1903. Controversy continued.

January 24, 1903. Controversy continued.

Tacoma Ledger. November 12, 1899. Mrs. Prentiss Whitman.

Union Central Advocate (Cincinnati, Ohio). June-July, 1905. Saved Oregon story.

Upto the Times (Walla Walla, Wash.). 1:199-202 (February, 1907). "The great day of '43." Saved Oregon story.

Walla Walla Statesman. February 9, 1866. Spalding, H. H. In this number begins a series of articles about the Oregon mission. They are interesting but must be read with caution.

February 16, 1866. Spalding, continued.

February 23, 1866. Spalding, continued.

March 2, 1866. Spalding, continued.

March 9, 1866. Spalding, continued. Massacre.

March 16, 1866. Wm. McBean under date of March 12, 1866, writes to correct "palpable misrepresentations" of Mr. Spalding in regard to Mr. Hall. Defends himself.

March 23, 1866. Spalding, continued. Escape of Mr. Osborne and family.

March 30, 1866. Spalding continues the massacre. Deposition of Miss Bewley. Charges against Brouillet.

Letter from McBean in which he says: "It is passing strange that he [Spalding] should make it his study and ambition to abuse and insult the very persons who were his best friends in the hour of danger; I shall do him the justice to believe that he is either mad or crazy."

April 6, 1866. Spalding continues the massacre.

April 13, 1866. Brouillet on the Whitman massacre. Copy of a letter to Col. Gilliam, dated Fort Vancouver, March 24, 1848.

Walla Walla Statesman—*Continued*.

Note. A complete bound file of the Walla Walla Statesman covering the above dates is contained in the private library of Mr. C. B. Bagley of Seattle.

April 15, 1901. Allen, D. C. Whitman was not the prime mover in the emigration of 1843.

May 17, 1905. Account of the address of Rev. George A. Whitworth before the students of the University of Washington, Seattle, May 16, 1905. Mr. Whitworth's subject was the "Early missionary history of the state," and he took the traditional view of Whitman.

Walla Walla Union. September 9, 1893. Nixon defends his position on the Whitman question.

September 30, 1893. Call for material for Whitman Historical Society.

December 1, 1897. Memorial edition. Addresses by Dr. James R. Wilson, Rev. W. H. Scudder and others. Reminiscences, etc.

December 7, 1897. Address of Father Flohr. Negative.

November 3, 1904. Interview with President Penrose in which he announces new evidence from the H. B. Co's Archives.

November 30, 1904. Anniversary address on Whitman.

January 19, 1905. Unimportant.

May 12, 1905. Honoring Nixon at Whitman College.

Walla Walla (Daily) Union-Journal. August 10, 1891? (Cited by Lyman, History of Walla Walla Co., p. 42, as August 15). Contains copy of Whitman's letter to the Secretary of War enclosing synopsis of a proposed billl.

Washington Catholic. May 26, 1883. Review of Myron Eells' History of Indian missions on the Pacific Coast. Roasts his treatment of Catholics in connection with the Whitman massacre.

Washington Historian (Tacoma, Wash.). 65-70 (January, 1901). 134-138 (April, 1901). Two articles by Myron Eells upon the life of Asa Bowen Smith. Refers to Smith's work at the Whitman mission. Catholic controversy brought up.

138-141 (April, 1901). An unsigned sketch of Perrin B. Whitman in which he is made to say that Dr. Whitman said at his father's house that he took the great risk of the mid-winter ride across the continent "to stay the completion of the Ashburton treaty then pending."

Washington Historical Quarterly. 1:39-41 (October, 1906). Bagley, Clarence B. Our first Indian war.

Exonerates H. B. Co. from any responsibility for the Whitman massacre. Gives a list of those killed.

1:49 (January, 1907). Dovell, W. T. The pathfinder. Allusin to Whitman's ride implying that its object was political.

Washington Historical Quarterly—*Continued.*

1:151 (April, 1907). Howell, John Ewing. Diary of an emigrant of 1845.

Under date of September 17, 1845, Mr. Howell has this entry: "Trav. and camped on the Umatallow river.....Dr. Whitman and lady visited our camp this morning and travelled with us and camped with us. He had a wagon-load of flour along not bolted $8 pr. 100 lbs."

1:209-216 (July, 1907). Johnson, C. T. Daniel Webster, Lord Ashburton and Old Oregon.

Codfishery story discussed. Writer contends that altho Webster was an inveterate fisherman, he had no serious thought of bartering Oregon for any purpose whatever.

2:24-27 (October, 1907). Eells, Edwin. The Whitman monument.

Gives a history of the monument with a plea for funds to pay off the indebtedness.

2:132-145 (January, 1908). Eells, Edwin. Heroes and heroines of long ago.

Says it was the Macedonian cry that saved Oregon.

2:195-208 (April, 1908). Johnson, C. T. Evolution of a lament.

A critical discussion of the various versions of the Macedonian cry.

2:256 (April, 1908). Letter of Archibald McDonald dated Colville, 25th Jan'y, 1837.

Alludes to the Mission settlements of Whitman and Spalding.

2:260 (April, 1908). Letter from Peter Skeen Ogden to John McLeod, dated Western Caledonia, Feb'y 25th, 1837.

This interesting letter shows that in spite of the uniform courtesy extended to missionaries and other settlers from United States, they were sometimes bored by their presence. "We had an assortment of Am. Missionarys the Rev. Mr. Spalding & Lady two Mr. Lees & Mr. Shepard surely clergymen enough when the Indian population is now so reduced but this is not all there are also five more Gent. as follows 2 in quest of Flowers 2 kiling all the birds in the Columbia & 1 in quest of rocks and stones all these bucks came with letters from the President of the U. States and you know it would not be good policy not to treat them politely they are a perfect nuisance."

Washington Pioneer Association. Proceedings, 1903-1904. Seattle. 1904. p. 35-40.

Eells, Myron. The trials and heroisms of the pioneer women.

Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Spalding with mention of the ride.

Well Spring. August 30, 1902. Brain, Belle M. Marcus Whitman, the patriot.

Saved Oregon story.

Westshore (Portland, Ore.). 14:78 (February, 1888). Anderson, A. Jay. Whitman's ride.

A poem in nine stanzas with the theme of "Saved the states their Oregon."

15:22-25 (January, 1889). Wells, Harry L. The geneology of Oregon.

Says that Whitman did not originate the emigration of 1843.

Whitman College Pioneer, 7, No. 4:30 (October, 1902). States that Prof. Lyman has been asked to write the Whitman story for the American Antiquarian.

Whitman College Quarterly. 1:1-18 (January, 1897). "A new chapter in the acts of the apostles."

An unsigned article giving the full saved Oregon story, with details of the Macedonian cry, the flag raising, the attempt of the H. B. Co. to stop Whitman's wagon and the Walla Walla dinner.

1:18-20 (January, 1897). The Whitman family. Claims that Abraham Lincoln and ex-Governor Russell of Mass. were scions of the Whitman family.

1, No. 2:17-28 (April, 1897). Wilson, Mrs. E. M. The last day at Waiilatpu.

Reminiscences of Mrs. Elizabeth Sager Helm.

1, No. 3:17-20 (October, 1897). An interview with Mr. B. F. Nichols, September 24, 1897.

Recollections of the Whitman mission. (See also vol. 2, No. 1 (March, 1898), p. 33-35.

1, No. 3:21-24 (October, 1897). Parker, Samuel J. Rev. Samuel Parker and the Oregon Mission.

Tells of Whitman's stopping at Ithaca on his way to Washington.

1, No. 4:1-51 (December, 1897). Whitman Anniversary. Eulogistic addresses.

1, No. 4:52-53 (December, 1897). Hauerbach, O? A. Poem on Whitman "Written for the Whitman memorial celebration by a distinguished editor who wishes his name withheld."

2, No. 1:1-32 (March, 1898). Eells, M. The foundations of the Whitman "myth."

Enlarged from the Seattle Post-Intelligencer of January 6, 1898.

2, No. 2:20-28 (June, 1898). Lowell, Stephen A. The Indians of the Whitman massacre.

2, No. 2:29-32 (June, 1898). "Statement of Edward H. Lenox.

2, No. 2:33-37 (June, 1898). Interview with Perrin B. Whitman at Lewiston, Idaho, April 27, 1898. (Continued in the October number, p. 35-37).

2, No. 2:48 (June, 1898). Chapman, Katherine E. "At Whitman's grave." A poem.

Whitman College Quarterly—*Continued.*

2, No. 4:1-17 (December, 1898). Eells, Myron. Rev. Henry Harmon Spalding. (First paper).

Contains Whitman material.

2, No. 4:21-26 (December, 1898). "Massacre at Whitman mission," by Helen M. Church—a survivor.

2, No. 4:26-29 (December, 1898). Copy of a letter of Marcus Whitman written to H. F. Wisewell, Naples, Ontario Co., New York, dated Fort Vancouver, Oregon, June 29, 1845.

3, No. 1:3-18 (March, 1899). Eells, Myron. Rev. Henry Harmon Spalding, continued.

Intimates that Spalding, as opposed to Whitman, believed in getting the Indians to settle down and cease their migratory habits.

3, No. 2:3-18 (June, 1899). Eells, Myron. The Spalding article continued.

3, No. 2:19-24 (June, 1899). Letters of Marcus Whitman to Rev. S. Parker.

The first of these letters is dated at Vancouver, September 18, 1836, and tells of the trip out to the mission.

The second letter is dated at Walla Walla, under dates of October 8 and October 15, 1836, and tells of the locating of the mission. Speaks of the cooperation of the H. B. Co.

3, No. 3-22 (October, 1898). Eells, Myron. The Spalding article concluded.

Tells of the preparation of Spalding's Executive Document, No. 37. Says that Spalding read the proof sheets in the Government Printing Office and that half or more of the pamphlets were carried off or destroyed. Gives list of Spalding's writings.

3, No. 3:30 (October, 1899). Eigler, Mary L. Marcus Whitman.

A poem.

Willamette Farmer, February 1, 1884. Pringle, Mrs. C. S. "An old pioneer."

Insists on giving Whitman and the Congregationalists fair credit and not to overestimate the Methodists as did Mr. Hines in reviewing Barrow's Oregon in the Pacific Christian Advocate, December 13, 1883.

Yale Alumni Weekly. 17:642 (March 25, 1908). Hart, Albert Bushnell. The literary career of Edward G. Bourne.

"Though not the first to question the preposterous claims made by some people for Whitman as the savior of Oregon, he was the first to criticise the documents seriatim, and to show by undeniable testimony that a myth had been formed in the midst of the most recent history."

DR. JOHN M'LOUGHLIN AND HIS GUESTS.*

According to biblical verse three score years and ten are counted as the span of a man's natural life. In the year 1838, seventy years ago, a trading post on the north bank of the Columbia river, about one hundred miles above its mouth, constituted the commercial, the educational, and the social center of the Oregon Country, as well as the seat of its administrative authority. This trading post, or Fort so-called, then comprised a community of, one (Holman) says about seven hundred and another (Wilson) says about five hundred inhabitants. It had its school, its hospital, its regular church services both Protestant and Catholic, and even its library (Travels of Samuel Parker, p. 171), and the conduct of its citizens was more orderly than in most towns of the same size today. There was no community of equal importance on the Pacific Coast, and none of similar size except perhaps three in California; and even the San Francisco settlement, then Yerba Buena, contributed to its commercial activity. Vancouver, of the State of Washington, U. S. A., ranks historically as the first community of any size in the Pacific Northwest. Its founder and builder, and administrator for a period of twenty-two years was Dr. John McLoughlin, the grandest character to be found in the History of the Oregon Country, but whose real worth and work are even yet too little known by the people of the present generation. It would be presumptuous to attempt to sketch his entire career within the limits necessarily assigned to this paper, but we may with interest glean from the journals and letters of some of those who visited Vancouver during that period and present a passing but somewhat familiar view of Dr. McLoughlin and of the times in which he lived there, and a few facts of the early history of this region in which we live.

To the first forty years of the life of Dr. John McLoughlin, before his coming to the Pacific Slope, but brief reference will be made; in fact until the closed archives of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company are opened to research a satisfactory statement is not possible. He was born in 1784, either on a small estate or in a small village about one hundred

* A paper read on Oct. 6th, 1908, at Spokane, Wash., before the Washington Library Association, by Mr. T. C. Elliott, of Walla Walla, President of the Association.

miles below Quebec on the South side of the St. Lawrence river; his father died during his youth and he was brought up, in all probability, in the family of the maternal grandfather, who was a retired officer of the British army, named Malcolm Fraser; together with an only brother, he was educated for the medical profession, and studied in Canada and Scotland, and perhaps in France; the brother remained in the Old Country to practice, but he returned to Canada and soon connected himself with the fur trade, at first in professional practice but afterward as a man of affairs rather than a physician; he became a partner as well as one of the officials of the Northwest Company, that bitter rival of the Hudson's Bay Co. up to the year 1821, when the two companies coalesced; along with other leading men of the fur trade he necessarily became more or less involved in the armed conflicts that arose between the two rival interests, and was with others in 1818 actually tried before a jury for the alleged murder of certain individuals but was acquitted after a deliberation of forty-five minutes; he was then and afterward the chief factor at Fort William, on Lake Superior, the most important trading post, or Factory so called, of the Northwest Co.; he was selected in 1824 as the one man best fitted to be put in charge of the business of the two companies (under one name) west of the Rocky Mountains. By the first route of regular travel across the American continent, as laid out by that intrepid explorer and surveyor David Thompson, he arrived at Fort George (Astoria) in the early fall of 1824, but at once selected the better location at Vancouver and began the erection of the stockade and buildings for the post there.

Forty years of age and in the prime of manhood, schooled in years of active experience and vested with supreme authority within the limit of the large powers granted to the powerful Hudson's Bay Co., physically standing six feet four inches high and of perfect proportions, with a clean shaven, ruddy face and hair already white allowed to grow long and fall over his neck and shoulders, he became the central figure of the Oregon country, feared and respected by the Indians, then numbering perhaps one hundred thousand, loved and respected by the officers and employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, and honored and revered by the pioneers to Oregon as they came to know him.

The first guest at Vancouver we will mention is David Douglas the botanist, sent by the Horticultural Society of London in 1824 to gather the flora of this section of the world. The name of Douglas has become permanently attached to our commerce,

through the famous Douglas Fir, as some of our best lumber is commercially known. David Douglas arrived off the river Columbia in the Hudson's Bay Ship William & Anne, on Feb. 12, 1825, but it was April 7th before she could enter the river; a rather dismal conclusion to a long voyage. Conditions on the Columbia river bar have improved some since then, but are yet subject to newspaper comment. The journals of Douglas, written while he wandered, often alone with an Indian guide, through the coast and interior regions of old Oregon afford very interesting reading. The original Ft. Vancouver was being erected that year but the Chief Factor went down the river to Ft. George as soon as informed that the ship had arrived; and Douglas thus records his welcome: "All my paper and trunks were sent ashore on the 16th and on the 19th I embarked in a small boat with Mr. John McLoughlin, the chief factor, who received me with demonstrations of the most kindly feeling and showed me every civility which it was in his power to bestow." After the summer and fall of botanizing, he was back at Vancouver and thus again writes: "Owing to rainy weather and leaking hut, Mr. McLoughlin kindly invited me to his half finished house, whither I moved all my little articles on the morning of Xmas day, and after morning service the gentlemen of the fort took an airing on horseback." Would the time would permit of telling more of the usual Christmas festivities at Vancouver! In May, 1826, Douglas was in the Spokane country and at Fort Colville, which had been partly built in 1825, and Dr. McLoughlin was there to look over the improvements and give instructions. The journal says, "Friday, the 26th of (May) started at daylight for a trip to the hills south of Kettle Falls. The weather was warm, the thermometer 86 degrees, and sitting down to rest awhile.....I fell asleep and never woke until late in the afternoon, when being twenty miles from home, I would have gladly taken up my quarters there for the night, but that I feared Mr. McLoughlin, who expected me back, would be uneasy. I therefore returned with all speed over a mountainous and rugged way, and arrived near midnight, and found him on the point of sending two Indians to seek for me; his anxiety however lest any accident should have befallen me was changed into hearty laughter when he heard of the manner in which I had been spending my time." Mr. McLoughlin gave the Indians to understand that Douglas was the "Grass Man" with power over flowers and shrubs. Returning down the river alone with his Indian guide in August, he (Douglas) found six or seven

hundred Indians camped at the Falls (Celilo) fishing, and had an experience. He hung his jacket up to dry and discovered that his tobacco box had been stolen. "As soon as I discovered my loss, I perched myself on a rock and in their own tongue gave the Indians a furious reprimand, applying to them all the epithets of abuse which I had often heard them bestow on one another; and reminding them that though they saw me only a blanket man, I was more than that, I was the "Grass Man," and therefore not at all afraid of them. I could not recover my box but slept unmolested after all the bustle." How was it safe for a lone botanist to wander up and down the Columbia, Spokane and Walla Walla rivers in 1826? Because the Indians already knew that Dr. McLoughlin, the Great White Chief or the White Eagle Chief, as they called him, would punish those who should do him harm as certainly as he would reward any who did a service. Under his wise authority the control of the Indians, morally rather than physically, by the traders and trappers was so perfect that we can only wonder at it.

In August, 1828, Jedediah S. Smith unexpectedly became a guest at Fort Vancouver. Jedediah Smith was an American Fur Trapper and Trader (a partner of Jackson and Sublette, whose field of operations was the headwaters of the Missouri and Snake and Green rivers) and a very interesting character. He was brave and resourceful and a very loyal American; and was also an ardent Methodist, and quite contrary to general practice among the Mountain Men, is said to have engaged in daily prayer and invoked the divine favor at his meals, although in this habit quite alone. In the summer of 1828, in the mountains of Southern Oregon, his party of eighteen men was attacked by Indians and almost wiped out of existence; but four of them escaped northward and finally reached Vancouver. As a competitive trader, he might have been received without ceremony and sent on his way with only sufficient aid to enable him to reach his partners again; and this without criticism. But Dr. McLoughlin welcomed him cordiallly and provided for the wants of himself and his companions, and kept him as a guest for seven months. In March, 1828, Smith journeyed with the regular Hudson's Bay Co. Express as far as the Spokane country and then proceeded East through the Flathead country to join his associates, and in 1830 joined in a letter to the Secretary of War which was afterward printed as Senate Doc. No. 39, 21st Congress (1831), from the latter part of which, the following is quoted:

"One of the undersigned, to-wit: Jedediah S. Smith, in his excursions west of the Mountains arrived at the post of the Hudson's Bay Co., called Ft. Vancouver, near the mouth of the Multonomah River. He arrived there in August, 1828, and left the 12th of March, 1829, and made observations which he deems it material to communicate to the Government:....."The crop of 1828 was 700 bu. of wheat. The grain full and plump and making good flour; fourteen acres of corn, the same number of acres of peas, 8 acres of oats, 4 or 5 acres of barley and fine garden, some small apple trees, and grape vines. The ensuing spring 80 bu. of seed wheat were sown and they had about 200 head of cattle, 52 horses and breeding mares, 300 head of hogs, 14 goats, the usual domestic fowls. They have mechanics, viz: coopers, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, carpenters, tinner and baker. a good saw mill on the bank of the river 5 miles above, a grist mill worked by hand, but intended to work by water".....Their (i. e. the Hudson's Bay Co's.) influence over the Indians is now decisive. Of this the Americans have constant and striking proofs, in the preference which they give to the British in every particular.

"In saying this, it is an act of justice to say also, that the treatment received by Mr. Smith at Fort Vancouver was kind and hospitable, that personally he owes thanks to Gov. Simpson (McLoughlin) and the gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Co. for the hospitable entertainment he received from them, and for the efficient and successful aid which they gave him in recovering from the Umpquah Indians a quantity of fur and many horses of which these Indians had robbed him in 1828. As to the injury which must happen to the United States from the British getting control of all the Indians beyond the Mountains, building and repairing ships in the tidewaters of the Columbia and having a station there for Privateers and vessels of war, is too obvious to need a recapitulation.

"The object of this communication being to state facts to the Government, and to show the facility of crossing the Continent to the Great Falls of the Columbia with wagons, the ease of supporting any number of men by driving cattle to supply them where there was no buffalo, and also to show the true nature of the British establishments on the Columbia and the unequal operation of the convention of 1818."

This visit of Jedediah Smith is mentioned somewhat in detail because it is quite evident to the writer that from him Dr. McLoughlin obtained some opinions as to the future settlement

of the Columbia River country by the Americans and from that time anticipated such settlment and began to prepare for it; for this was the year that the Doctor made the first improvement on the land claim at the Falls of the Willamette and initiated rights there.

It would have been very natural that these two individuals should discuss together the future of the country, especially as the Convention of 1818 had just been renewed between England and the United States. This letter also shows that as early as 1831, the Departments at Washington had reliable information as to a wagon route to the Falls of the Columbia.

In 1828 the new Fort Vancouver (Stockade and Buildings) was built about a quarter of a mile west of the first fort and 200 yards from the bank of the river. And during 1828, while Mr. Smith was there, Gov. Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Co. visited the Fort upon a tour of inspection.

In the years 1832 to 1836 inclusive, Nathaniel J. Wyeth from Boston, a very energetic and persistent Yankee and with the instincts and habits of a gentleman, although neither a Methodist or a total abstainer (at least not while in the Oregon country), established and attempted to carry on business enterprises in the Columbia river basin in competition with the Hudson's Bay Co., but found himself unable to do so against the stronger rivals and in the end sold out to them upon terms agreeable to both. Of the kind and generous treatment by Dr. McLoughlin his journal speaks in many places as does also the following letter written in 1850 (see Pg. 258, "Dr. John McLoughlin" by Holman):

Cambridge, Nov. 28, 1850.

Hon Robert C. Winthrop:

Dear Sir: I have received a letter from Sam'l R. Thurston of which the following is a portion:

"I desire you to give me as correct a description as you can at this late period, of the manner in which you and your party, and your enterprise in Oregon, were treated by the Hudson's Bay Co. west of the Rocky Mountains, and particularly by Dr. John McLoughlin, then its Chief Factor. This Dr. McLoughlin has since you left the country, rendered his name odious among the people of Oregon, by his endeavors to prevent the settlement of the country and cripple its growth. Now that he wants a few favors of our Government, he pretends that he has been the long-tried friend of Americans and American enterprise west of the mountains."

"I have written Mr. Thurston, in reply to the above extract, that myself and parties were kindly received, and were treated well in all respects by John McLoughlin, Esq., and the officers

of the Hudson's Bay Co., but from the tenor of his letter, I have no confidence that my testimony will be presented before any committee to whom may be referred any subjects touching the interests of said John McLoughlin, Esq.

"The very honorable treatment received by me from Mr. McLoughlin during the years inclusive from 1832 to 1836, during which time there were no other Americans on the Lower Columbia, except myself and parties, calls on me to state the facts.

"The purpose of this letter is to ask the favor of you to inform me what matter is pending, in which Mr. McLoughlin's interests are involved, and before whom, and if you will present a memorial from me on the matters stated in Mr. Thurston's letter as above.

"Respectfully and truly your obedient servant,

"Nath. J. Wyeth."

This was written when Samuel R. Thurston, Oregon Delegate to Congress and after whom Thurston County, Washington, was named, was endeavoring to discredit Dr. McLoughlin's record and take away his land claim. Robert C. Winthrop was then Speaker of the National House of Representatives. Thus did Dr. McLoughlin deal with his competitors in the fur trade.

In 1834, the missionaries began to arrive on the Columbia. The Hudson's Bay Co. was not in the business of saving souls or civilizing Indians, but the cordial reception given to the American missionaries, who nearly all in turn became guests at Vancouver, is clearly shown by their journals and letters.

The first we will mention is Rev. Samuel Parker, the Presbyterian, who came in the early fall of 1835. He was escorted all the way from the rendezvous on Green River to Fort Walla Walla by a band of Nez Percés. His route was by the mountain trails of the Salmon River and Clearwater countries and through where Lewiston stands now; and some have designated him as the plug hat missionary, because the Indians said he wore a high hat all the way through. He was a sincere and devout man and continually anxious about the salvation of the people he met, whether Indians or whites. But his sincerity seems to have made a good impression, for Mrs. Whitman wrote that he had been a favorite at Fort Vancouver and had taught the children there some religious hymns. He explored the interior country and with the aid of Dr. McLoughlin selected the sites for the Spalding and Whitman missions. Of his arrival at Fort Vancouver he himself wrote:

"Here, by the kind invitation of Dr. McLoughlin, and welcomed by the other gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Co., I took

up my residence for the winter.....I am agreeably situated in this place. Rooms in a new house are assigned to me, well furnished, and all the attendance which I can wish, with access to as many valuable books as I have time to read; and opportunities to ride out for exercise, and to see the adjoining country; and in addition to all these, the society of gentlemen, enlightened, polished and sociable.....In the year 1835, at this post, there were 450 head cattle, 100 horses, 200 sheep, 40 goats, and 300 hogs. They had raised the same year 5,000 bu, of wheat, of the best quality I ever saw; 1,300 bushels of potatoes, 100 bu. of barley, 1,000 bu. of oats, 2,000 of peas, and a large quantity of garden vegetables."

And when about to leave Vancouver for the Sandwich Islands on the regular Hudson's Bay Co's. vessel, he wrote as follows:

"Monday, April 11th (1836). Having made arrangements to leave this place on the 14th, I called upon the chief clerk for my bill. He said the company had made no bill against me, but felt a pleasure in gratuitously conferring all they had done for the benefit of the object in which I was engaged.....In addition to the civilities I had received as a guest, I had drawn upon their store for clothing, for goods to pay my Indians, whom I had employed to convey me in canoes on various journeyings hundreds of miles; to pay my guides and interpreters; and have drawn upon their provisions store for the support of these men while in my employ."

In 1836, Sept. 12th, at evening, the Whitman-Spalding party arrived at Vancouver, in company with McLeod & McKay—returning from their annual rendezvous at Green River; Mr. Parker had given notice of their coming that year and Dr. McLoughlin had given instructions to his traders to escort them through, which they did with some inconvenience to themselves of course, but with unusual civility. They remained at the post for more than a month before returning to their mission locations in the interior. Of the many interesting items in the letters of Mrs. Whitman to her mother and others, we can quote only a few:

"We are now at Vancouver, the New York of the Pacific Ocean. Our first sight as we approach the fort, was two ships lying in the harbor, one of which, the Neriade, Capt. Royal, had just arrived from London; the other, the Columbia, Capt. Dandy, came last May and has since been to the Sandwich Islands and returned." Describing the garden back of the fort, she says: "What a delightful place is this.....Here we find fruit of every

description, appless, peaches, grapes, pears, plums and figs in abundance; also cucumbers, melons, beans, peas, beets, cabbage, tomatoes and every kind of vegetable too numerous to mention."

She speaks of the unexpected pleasure of the society of two English ladies then resident there. She visited the barns and the stock, and the dairy, and the store room, where were "the cargo of the two ships, all in unbroken bales; chiefly Indian goods; every article for comfort and durability that we need." Of the mill, she says it was run by horse power and had a wire bolt and that "the company has one at Colville that goes by water, five days ride from Walla Walla from whence we expect to obtain our flour, potatoes and pork. They have three hundred hogs." In regard to supplies for their mission, she says: "Dr. McLoughlin promises to loan us enough to make a beginning and all the return he asks is that we supply other settlers in the same way. He appears desirous to afford us every facility for living, in his power. No person could have received a more hearty welcome, or be treated with greater kindness than we have been since our arrival."

The Methodist missionaries had begun to arrive in 1834, Rev. Jason Lee and his nephew, Daniel Lee, being the first, and began the extensive operations in the Willamette Valley. Of the many acts of kindness to them we will not make mention, but will record the arrival of the "great reinforcement" to that mission that came in 1840 on the ship Lausanne from New York, as a result of the visit of Jason Lee to the States in 1838-9. We quote from what Capt. Spaulding of that vessel wrote in his log book, beginning after their arrival at Astoria: "The next morning after getting under way, I was hailed by a canoe, which I found had been dispatched by Dr. McLoughlin, who, hearing of my arrival, immediately sent on board the best pilot at the fort, to assist me, sending also a large tub of fresh butter, and a bag of fresh bread.....Upon my arrival abreast Fort Vancouver about six o'clock in the evening, I found the Doctor on the bank, ready to receive us. He immediately came on board and invited all the ship's company, 54 in number, to take tea with him at the fort.....The next day all the ship's company were provided with comfortable quarters and an abundant table at the fort; and this hospitality was continued until they were all sent to their several destinations. One of the peculiar traits of the Doctor's character is that he never tires in his benevolent acts. This I was told by those who have been intimate with him for years; and as far as my experience goes, I can truly confirm all

that was told me; for, while at Vancouver, I received from him every civility, and his kind offices followed me all the way down the river, and even out over the bar."

No one can read the records of these missions of the different sects and come to any other conclusion than that but for the friendliness of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Co., they could not have been begun or maintained; but under another personality the conditions would have been far different even then, for Dr. McLoughlin was broad minded, and out of his town site at Oregon City he gave lots free of charge to Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists, as well as Catholics for religious use; and himself headed a voluntary subscription of money to assist Jason Lee, in 1836, in the work on the Willamette.

Dr. McLoughlin, when a child was baptized in the Catholic church, but it was not until Christmas morning of 1842 that he partook of the holy communion and entered into the membership of that church. Up to about 1839 or '40, he affiliated more especially with the Church of England (Episcopalian). A great many of the traders and clerks were French Canadians, and French was the common language at Vancouver; but a few used English regularly. So the services were read on Sundays and feast days by Dr. McLoughlin in French. But the great majority of the artisans, servants and laborers were Catholics, and a regular meeting place and time was provided for them also. The first Catholic clergymen arrived from Montreal in 1838, Rev. F. N. Blanchet and Rev. A. Demers, of the Oblate Fathers. In 1836 there had arrived from England by sea, a Church of England clergyman to act as chaplain, Rev. Herbert Beaver, accompanied by his wife. It is probable that Dr. McLoughlin at once asked for a resident priest of the Catholic faith; at any rate these came and were paid a regular salary by the Hudson's Bay Co. for some years. Rev. Herbert Beaver did not remain long; he does not seem to have acclimated well. And some of those who had come as clergymen and laymen of the Presbyterian and Methodist missions developed a fondness for material things in preference to the spiritual, and began to trouble Dr. McLoughlin for employment and about the land claim at Oregon City. These circumstances and a book entitled "The End of Controversy" are said to have influenced him toward the religion of his own parents, although his fellow officers, Jas. Douglas, Dr. Tolmie, and others, remained Protestants.

We next come to the reception of the American Immigrants

on the Columbia. The high mark in the fur business of the Hudson's Bay Co. west of the Rocky Mts. seems to have been reached in 1830 or '32; after that the extra dividends of the Company began to fall off, although always large enough to keep the Company out of bankruptcy. So in the early thirties, if not sooner, Dr. McLoughlin was compelled to consider the future of the Company during the gradual diminution of its most profitable line of trade. The situation was complicated by the fact that the boundary question was receiving no active attention, and the American people had just as much right in the country as the British, and were likely to have. And as early as 1825 Dr. McLoughlin had been informed by the officers of the Company in London "that on no event could the British Government claim extend south of the Columbia river.' It has been the popular belief that the policy of the Hudson's Bay Co. was to keep the Oregon country for its own use and to discourage the settlement of it by the Americans and others. This, however, is not in accord with recent research and opinion. It is safe and proper to say that the Hudson's Bay Co. did not discourage settlement, but at a very early date expected it and prepared to accept it as inevitable and to profit by it in lines of trade. To say otherwise is to discredit the loyalty of Dr. McLoughlin and his associates to their Company and their country; and documents recently copied in the British archives at London seem to prove this. This policy was probably recommended to the Company by Dr. McLoughlin and accepted by them. But had there been another man than he at the head of the affairs on the Columbia, a man lacking his breadth of view and his wonderful humanity, the story of the administration of that policy would be much less pleasant and delightful to relate.

Dr. McLoughlin has been often referred to as the autocrat of the Oregon country. We more often think of an autocrat as of despotic or aristocratic mien; but his was a truly catholic autocracy and he loved to be on common ground with the common people. Nothing reveals this better than his treatment of the American immigrants.

These immigrants began to come in force in 1842, and in 1843, '44 and '45 and later years came in large numbers. The immigration of 1843 contained nearly one thousand people, men, women and children, and that of 1845 some 2,500 people. These immigrants arrived at The Dalles in the Fall after a five or six months' journey across the plains in wagons, in conditions of exhaustion and uncertainty, and in many instances of distress

and need. Of the migration of 1843 this was particularly true. From Ft. Boise on Snake river, those pioneers practically found and made their own wagon route across the Blue Mountain range, with only an Indian to guide them; and beyond the Whitman Mission no one could tell them a way, for Dr. Whitman said he had traveled down the river only by boat. So they struggled along alone. But for the timely and unstinted aid given to these immigrants, there would have been such loss of life from exposure and destitution as would have caused fighting on the Columbia and a declaration of war between United States and England as soon as the news of such a condition reached the States. Of how they were sent for with boats and many of them sheltered and fed at Fort Vancouver, and supplied with food and clothing and seed and grain and stock, the story has been often told. But Mr. Joseph Watt, of the migration of 1844, has reduced to a very familiar narrative his own experiences, as follows:

Trans. Oregon Pioneer Association, 1886, Pg. 24-27.

"On the 13th of November, 1844, a company of immigrants landed at Fort Vancouver, brought there on a batteau commanded by Joseph Hess, an immigrant of 1843. The boat belonged to the Hudson's Bay Co. Mr. Hess was entrusted with the boat for the purpose of bringing immigrants down the river. We had eaten the last of our provisions at our last camp, and were told by Hess that we could get plenty at the Fort, with or without money: that the old Doctor never turned people away hungry. This made us feel quite comfortable, for there was not a dollar among us. As near as I can remember the company consisted of sixteen men, five women and four children. As soon as we landed at the Fort the men all started to find Dr. McLoughlin, the women and children walking about the shore for exercise. We soon found the Doctor in a small room he called his office. He was a tall, broad shouldered, portly and dignified old gentleman; his hair long and white as snow; face cleanly shaven, ruddy and full, and of rather a nervous temperament. He met us pleasantly, made us welcome, enquired as to our journey down the river, and particularly of those we left behind. We were the first to arrive, with the exception of a few packers. He told us that he had furnished the boats free of charge to certain parties to bring immigrants down the river, limiting their charges to keep them from taking advantage of necessity. He spoke of our being so late, and feared there would be considerable suffering before they could all be taken down the river, but should do all in his power until they reached their destination.

"We then made known to him our wants; we were all out of provisions. There was a small table in one corner of the room, at which he took a seat, and directed us to stand in line,—(there

being so many of us the line reached nearly around the room)—and then told us the year before and previous years he had furnished the people with all the provisions and clothing they wanted, but lately had established a trading house at Oregon City where we could get supplies; but for immediate necessity he would supply provisions at the fort. Several of our party broke in, saying, 'Doctor, I have no money to pay you, and I don't know when or how I can pay you.'

" 'Tut, tut, never mind that; you cannot suffer,' said the Doctor. He then commenced at the head man, saying, 'Your name, if you please; how many in the family and what do you desire?'

"Upon receiving an answer, the Doctor wrote an order, directing him where to go to have it filled, then called up the next man, and so on until all were supplied. He told us the account of each man would be sent to Oregon City, and when we took a claim and raised wheat, we could settle the account by delivering wheat at that place. Some few who came after us got clothing. Such was the case with every boat load and all those who came by land down the trail. If he had said 'We have these supplies to sell for cash down,' I think we would have suffered. After we had our orders filled, we went on board the boat which was to take us to Linnton. . . . . We found the Doctor in a towering rage; he was giving it to Hess right and left. It appeared that the Doctor had come to the river to see the boat. He found it, as he supposed, full of wagons, and as he had given strict orders that only bedding, clothing, camp equipment, etc., should be brought with the immigrants, and that none should be left. He believed that Hess was making an extra fee by bringing wagons. We commenced getting into the boat and climbing on top of the wagons. When all were in there was not an inch of spare room left. The Doctor stood looking on, until we were out in the river; he evidently expected to see the boat sink. Soon we heard him call out: 'Mr. Hess, all right, sir.' "

There were more distinguished visitors at Vancouver of whom we cannot speak; Lieut. Slacum in 1837, the Wilkes Exploring Squadron in 1841, and John C. Fremont in 1843; neither can we tell of the individual trappers and traders from the many other forts that were maintained in remote parts of Old Oregon, or of the large commerce carried on from Vancouver under the direction of Dr. McLoughlin, when the only means of communication were the Indian runner, the Canadian Courier du Bois and the sailing vessel; nor of the visits of Sir George Simpson, the colonial governor of the Hudson's Bay Co., whose veracity at certain times seems to have been about equal to that of some oily politician of the present day, and whose personal jealousy of Dr. McLoughlin seems to lie at the bottom of the later troubles over the land claim. Those troubles are not yet capable of satisfactory explanation.

In the fall of 1842 Lord Aberdeen, of the British Foreign Office, seems to have wakened up to the fact that the Oregon country was slipping from England's grasp; Daniel Webster had not been easy game in the negotiation with Lord Ashburton, and was no more easy during the rest of his term in the cabinet of President Tyler. The policy of quietly assisting in the colonization that was suggested to President Jackson and begun under Van Buren's administration, was continued by President Tyler and Secretary Webster. It was too late when the British ministry wakened to this situation and made its final bluff to retain all the country lying north and west of the Columbia. A squadron was sent to the Pacific and an armed vessel was kept in Puget Sound and another in the Columbia; and fortifications were planned at four or five different points on the Columbia, and one even at the Falls of the Willamette. British officers appeared at Vancouver; Capt. Park and Lieut. Peel from off the British ship America, and Lieuts. Warre and Vavasour of the engineering corps, direct from London by way of Montreal, in August, 1845. The former of these two drew sketches of various localities, really for use in case of war, and these have come down to us in a folio of prints to be found in some few libraries and private collections. These officers, the last two especially, sent in colored reports as to the loyalty of Dr. McLoughlin and he was criticized by jingoes who did not understand his true motives or his high character, and as a result he voluntarily (?) tendered his resignation from the service of the Hudson Bay Co. and left Vancouver in the fall of the very year the boundary was finally fixed as the Forty-ninth degree, north latitude. He passed the remainder of his days at Oregon City, where he had established property rights and built a flouring mill, receiving, of course, the regular salary paid to a retired officer of the Company. As soon as it became possible to do so, he declared his intentions and became an American citizen. He passed from this life on September 3rd, 1857, at the age of seventy-three years, and the graves of himself and wife, next to the Catholic Church at Oregon City, is the most revered spot in that community, of which he was the founder.

Of the eleven years of Dr. McLoughlin's residence at Oregon City, our limitations permit of only passing mention. There was a touch of real martyrdom to these last years of his life. While loved and respected by the great majority of the older settlers, a larger number had arrived who did not personally know him; and by some whom he had befriended his kindness was forgot-

ten, and the finger of scorn and tongue of vilification was even turned upon him. This was primarily because of his land claim. The first opposition to his possession of this claim may have been honest, under the assumption that he held it really for the Hudson's Bay Co. and not for himself. There may have been ground for this suspicion; it may have been even so, in the very broad sense that the Hudson's Bay Co. were to have first use of the water power for milling. But with his retirement from the Company and the settlement of the boundary question this suspicion should have been laid aside. Instead it was intensified by religious bigotry and selfishness. Of his unhappy state of mind at the end, Mr. L. F. Grover, twice Governor of Oregon and once its Senator, has given us this glimpse. Mr. Grover was summoned to the house of Mr. McLoughlin:

"I found him extremely ill. . . . . He said he was dying by inches. He said: 'I shall live but a little while longer; and this is the reason I sent for you. I am an old man and just dying, and you are a young man and will live many years in this country, and will have something to do with affairs here. As for me, I had better been shot'—and he brought it out harshly—'I might better have been shot forty years ago!' After a silence, for I did not say anything, he concluded: 'Than to have lived here and tried to build up a family and an estate in this government. I became a citizen of the United States in good faith. I planted all I had here, and the government has confiscated my property. Now what I want to ask of you is that you will give your influence after I am dead to have this property go to my children. I have earned it as other settlers have earned theirs, and it ought to be mine and my heirs.' I told him I would favor his request, and did." (Holman, Dr. J. McL., page 58.)

Thus died Dr. John McLoughlin, the Savior of Oregon Pioneers, the true Father of Oregon and Washington. "The days of our years are three score years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow."

T. C. ELLIOTT.

FORT COLVILLE 1859 TO 1869.

The attempted settlement of the Indian difficulties by Governor I. I. Stevens, by treaty or otherwise, resulted in the sending of United States troops to Walla Walla in the fall of 1856, and in locating of the present post where it now stands, in the spring of 1857, but the continued unfriendliness of the Indians; the killing of miners, stealing from settlers, and the petitioning of the citizens of Colville Valley for protection, induced Lieutenant-Colonel Steptoe in May, 1858, to start for Colville Valley with about one hundred and sixty men on what was intended as a peaceful mission, for they left the sabres and ammunition of his command in Walla Walla.

On the 16th day of May, the Indians met Colonel Steptoe and his command near Rock Lake, and told him they must go back. The next day on account of the numbers and hostile actions of the Indians, they started to return, and at or near Pine Creek the Indians attacked them, and there was a running fight for several hours, during which two officers and several soldiers were killed, and they were forced to halt and camp, from which they fled during the night under the guidance of a friendly Nez Perceé Indian to Snake River, and thence to Walla Walla, leaving all their camp outfit, pack train, howitzers, medical stores, etc.

During the next two months Colonel George Wright organized a force at Walla Walla to punish the Indians for their attack on Lieutenant Colonel Steptoe. About the same time, a party of one hundred and sixty-seven miners, traders and packers, knowing of the defeat of Colonel Steptoe by the Spokanes, and of Major Haller by the Yakimas, heedless of the danger, under the guidance of David McLoughlin, son of Dr. McLoughlin of the Hudson Bay Company, started from Walla Walla July 21st, 1858, for the newly discovered gold fields of Fraser River, crossed Snake River, journeyed over the plains of the Big Bend to the Columbia River, opposite the mouth of the Okanogan, without very serious trouble, losing only one man, who lagged behind. Here the Indians told them, if they crossed the River, they would have to fight. This did not deter them, for after a parley and a talk with Francois Desotel, the agent of the Hudson Bay Company, they crossed the Columbia, organized an advance guard under Francis Wolff, and went three days journey up the Okanogan River, without seeing an Indian, but on nearing the McLoughlin Canyon, a narrow pass, with almost perpendicular walls, the trail indicated the presence of Indians, and the com-

mand closed up. The advance guard started into the Canyon, but soon discovered an ambuscade and lost three killed and as many wounded. All but the advance guard retreated to the river. While the advance men were holding the Indians, the others made rafts, crossed the river, followed by the men who had been fighting, and then they went around the Indians, north into British Columbia, and on the Fraser River. Shortly after this, Sept. 1, 1858, Colonel Wright met the allied tribes that had defeated Colonel Steptoe on the Spokane plains, and beat them, without loss to his command, after which the Indians asked for peace. During August of this same year, Major Garnett was hunting and fighting Indians in the Yakima Valley, who in June before had attacked a party of miners, killing and robbing them. He was fairly successful in either killing, capturing or driving the guilty ones out of the country, some of whom fell into Colonel Wright's hands to be executed on the Spokane. In addition to this, it was reported that the Hudson Bay Company was and had been furnishing the Indians with guns and ammunition. Under these conditions, as existing in 1858, it was deemed wise to carry out Colonel Steptoe's idea, by establishing a post between the Spokanes and Okanogans. To this end, in the Spring of 1859, several companies of the 9th United States Infantry were sent into the country, two companies going to Colville Valley under Major Pinkney Lougenbeel. The military settled on the flat, near Mill Creek, about three miles from the Colville River, and commenced at once to build a four-Company post out of hewn logs. Hiram Fields was superintendent of the building and John Day the boss carpenter. R. H. Douglass and John Nelson had built a saw mill in 1857-8 at the Falls on the Creek, about three miles below where the Fort was located. Major Lougenbeel endeavored to make a contract with them for lumber, offering $20 per thousand feet, or for the rental of the mill, he to furnish logs and labor. Douglass & Co., thinking their opportunity had arrived, asked $40. The result was the Major built a dam about a half mile above the Fort, put in a saw mill, cut what lumber the Post required, and afterwards leased the mill, and the settlers were thus able to buy lumber at $10 per thousand. At the time Major Lougenbeel went to Colville, J. J. Archer, commanding Company C, and Captain Frazier, commanding Company I, went to Okanogan Valley to protect Captain John G. Parke, of the American Boundary Commission, and they scouted over that section all summer, then in the fall went to Fort Colville to find the post practically built, and as one

of the men wrote me, "Winter was drawing nigh and the men needed quarters, and we pitched in and helped build them." These four Companies wintered at the post, as did the Engineers headed by Captain Parke of the American Boundary Commission, who had charge of locating the 49th parallel, the international line.

Captain Parke attained the rank of Major General during the war of the Rebellion. That same year, 1859, the British Boundary Surveyors, under Colonel Hawkins, located their quarters on the south side of the Columbia River, about fifteen miles from the American Post, and built comforable log houses to shelter his command of sappers and miners. The place is now occupied by the town of Marcus, and only one of the original houses is still standing. The American and British Engineers worked conjointly in locating the Boundary line.

On August 6th, 1861, Captain Parke sold such supplies as he had belonging to the American Boundary expedition, and started for the States, and on April 4, 1862, Colonel Hawkins did the same for the British, abandoning his buildings, and started for England via Walla Walla.

The four Companies of the 9th United States Infantry occupied the Post of Fort Colville until the Spring of 1861, when two companies, those of Captain Frazier, Company C, and of Captain Archer, Company I, were ordered East to take part in the war of the Rebellion. Both these Captains, with Captain Fletcher and Lieutenants Harvey and Wickliff, resigned, and joined the Confederate forces.

November 17, 1861, Major James F. Curtis, 2nd Infantry, California Volunteers, with Companies C and D, commanded by Captains Hull and O'Brien, relieved Major Lougenbeel, and he and his command went at once to Walla Walla. About the first order Major Curtis made was the dismissal of the Post Sutler, Charles R. Allen, on November 22nd, 1861, which read, "Sir: You are dismissed as Sutler from this post for your unqualified secession principles." Major Curtis was on May 9, 1864, promoted to Colonel of the Fourth Regiment of Infantry of California Volunteers.

Some of Major Curtis' Command were a bad lot. They were reported to be the jail birds of San Francisco. Besides getting drunk, they would fight and steal and kill. Within four days of their arrival they ran off the Chinamen from the only wash house in town, stole the clothes, leaving most of the citizens with only what clothing was on their persons. February 8, 1862, Lieuten-

ant John M. Henry came to the town and killed John Burke in cold blood with a common butcher knife. The coroner's inquest found Henry guilty of murder. Major Curtis confined Henry to his quarters for about twenty days, and then on account of some criticism by citizens turned him over to the Sheriff, Francis Wolff. The nearest jail being four hundred and seventy miles at Vancouver, he took him to his house on his farm, and kept him until Spring, when Henry demanded a hearing before a Justice of the Peace. At the examination, on account of the intimidation of the soldiers, no one appeared to prosecute, and he was discharged, and left the place. It was reported some months later that he was killed in a row in California.

February 22, 1862, was the time of a great event—the ball given by the California Volunteers. Everybody in the Valley was invited, including the officers and men of the British Boundary Commission. Over four hundred were present, of whom about one hundred and fifty were the women of the Valley, native and mixed bloods and half a dozen white women, being all of the town and country and fort. Major Curtis and his officers were in full dress uniform, very hospitable, saw that all had attention, a good supper and an enjoyable time. The ball room was one of the Company quarters, a log building about 25x100 feet. It was artistically decorated. At each end over the fire places were rosettes of sabers and guns flanked by the American and English flags. The sides were covered with flags and bunting, and the room was lighted by immense chandeliers made of bayonets fastened to hoops forming cones and pyramids, with a candle in the socket of each bayonet.

March 26, 1862, Lieutenant Wing, of the California Volunteers, committed suicide by shooting himself, placing the muzzle of the pistol in his mouth, the ball coming out the back of his head.

The first use made of the beautiful marble of which the Valley has such a great variety and abundance, was a slab marking his grave.

April 21st, 1862, Major Curtis came with his command to the town, went to John Shaw's distillery, took the worm of the still out and up to the Fort, knocked all the barrels of whiskey in the head, and ordered every one in town not to sell liquors to any one, which order was obeyed. The character of some of the men in his command was such that life and property were not safe when they were drinking. The order was obeyed, not only because it was an order, but for self protection.

July 11, 1862, Major C. H. Rumrill, with two Companies of the Washington Territory Volunteers, Company C, commanded by Captain C. A. Glasure, and Company B, commanded by Captain S. W. Shulock, relieved Major Curtis, who with his command went to Fort Vancouver.

November 3, 1862, the order of Major Curtis of April 21st, 1862, stopping the sale of liquors was suspended by order of Major Rumrill, and whiskey selling was again permitted. It may be apropos to say that during the prohibition the setlers expended about the same amount of money, but it was noticeable that their families were more comfortably housed and better clothed.

May 26, 1863, Lieutenant Charles P. Eagan came from Fort Lapwai to be Acting Assistant Quartermaster.

November 5, 1863, Lieutenant Eagan was married to Miss Emma Johnson at the commanding officer's quarters. A splendid dinner followed the ceremony. This officer, as Commisary General, attained considerable notoriety in canned beef contracts during the Spanish War.

December 24, 1863, occurred a Military Ball at the Fort. All the people of the Valley were there, the Washington Volunteers trying to excel the California Volunteers' entertainment of the year before.

May 26, 1865, Captain F. O. McCown, with one company of Oregon Volunteers, relieved Major Rumrill and his command of two Companies of Washington Territory Volunteers, they going to Walla Walla.

November 9, 1865, Captain John S. Wharton, with one Company of sixty-two men, 14th United States Infantry, Regulars, arrived and relieved Captain McCown and his command, who went to Vancouver to be mustered out of service.

From this date until the abandonment of the Fort in September, 1882, it was garrisoned by Regular troops from different regiments with different officers, as follows:

October 17, 1867, Captain Geo. L. Browning, of the 7th United States Infantry, arrived and assumed command; then Lieutenant W. C. Manning of the 23rd United States Infantry.

September, 1869, Major John Eagan, 23rd United States Infantry, was commanding officer, followed by Captain Evan Miles, 21st United States Infantry.

Following these, I have no record in my journal of the officers commanding Fort Colville.

W. P. WINANS.

DOCUMENTS.

[The editor would be pleased to receive manuscript documents bearing on the history of the Pacific Northwest for publication in this department of the Washington Historical Quarterly.]

Transfer of Alaska to the United States.

As the preparations for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition are being hurried forward, and as the plans for the unveiling of Richard E. Brooks's statue of Seward by which the people of Seattle seek to honor the statesman who brought about the purchase of Alaska are likewise nearing completion, new interest is being aroused in matters pertaining to the purchase and the final transfer of the Territory to the United States. The following official documents are found in House of Representatives, Executive Document, Number 125, Fortieth Congress, second session, pages 1 to 8, (Public Documents, Serial Nuber 1337). Copies were made for publication here by Ashmun N. Brown. The first one embodies the instructions from Secretary of State Seward to General Rousseau:

Department of State, Washington, Aug. 7, 1867.

General: You will herewith receive the warrant of the president, under the great seal of the United States, appointing you commissioner on behalf of this government, to receive from a similar officer appointed on behalf of the imperial government of Russia, the territory ceded by that government to the United States, pursuant to the treaty of the 30th of March last. You will consequently enter into communication with Captain Pestchouroff, the Russian commissioner, now here, and arrange with him in regard to proceeding, as soon as may be convenient, to the territory referred to, in order that your commission may be fulfilled.

On arriving at Sitka, the principl town in the ceded territory, you will receive from the Russian commissioner the formal transfer of that territory, under mutual salutes from artillery, in which the United States will take the lead.

Pursuant to the stipulations of the treaty, that transfer will include all forts and military posts, and public buildings, such as the governor's house and those used for government purposes; dockyards, barracks, hospitals and schools; all public lands, and

all ungranted lots of ground at Sitka and Kodiak. Private dwellings and warehouses, blacksmiths', joiners', coopers', tanners', and other similar shops, ice-houses, flour and saw-mills, and any small barracks on the island, are subject to the control of their owners, and are not to be included in the transfer to the United States.

The respective commissioners, after distinguishing between the property to be transferred to the United States and that to be retained by individuals, will draw up and sign full inventories of the same in duplicate. In order, however, that the said individual proprietors may retain their property as aforesaid, or if they should so prefer may dispose of the same, you will, upon the production of the proper documentary or other proof of ownership, furnish the said proprietors with a certificate of their right to hold the same.

In accordance with the stipulations of the treaty, the churches and chapels in the ceded territory will continue to be the property of the members of the Greco-Russian church. Any house and lots which may have been granted to those churches will also remain their property.

As it is understood that the Russian American company possess, in that quarter, large stores of furs, provisions and other goods, now at Sitka, Kodiak and elsewhere on the main land and on the island, it is proper that that company should have a reasonable time to collect, sell or export that property. For that purpose the company may leave in the territory an agent or agents for the purpose of closing their business. No taxes will be levied on the property of the company now in the territory until Congress shall otherwise direct.

It is expected that, in the transaction of the important business hereby entrusted to you, it will be borne in mind that, in making the cession of the territory referred to, his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias has been actuated by a desire of giving a signal proof of that friendship for the United States which has characterized his own reign and that of his illustrious predecessors. It is hoped, therefore, that all your intercourse with the Russian commissioner will be friendly, courteous and frank.

This department understands from the president that, upon the conclusion of the business with the Russian commissioner, you will have command in the territory, to be exercised under the orders of the war department.

I am, general, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Brigadier General Lovell H. Rousseau.

GENREAL ROUSSEAU'S REPORT.

Headquarters Department of the Columbia.
Portland, Oregon, December 5, 1867.

Sir:—I have the honor to report that, on the receipt from you of my appointment by the President as United States commissioner to receive the formal transfer of the territory of Alaska, and also your instructions touching that transfer, I repaired at once to New York to make the necessary preparation to sail on the 21st of August, but on reaching that city I found it impossible to get off on that day.

I sought and obtained at once an interview with Baron Stoeckl, the Russian minister, and Captain Pestchouroff, of the Russian imperial navy, and Captain Koskul, representing the Russian American company; and it was arranged that we should sail from New York on the 31st of August, and we accordingly sailed on that day, via Panama, reaching San Franscico, California, on the 22d of September. As we entered the harbor of San Francisco, the batteries of the forts fired a salute.

On reaching San Francisco, we found the preparations for taking military possession of the new territory completed by Major General Halleck, who had ships laden with supplies for the troops, and transportation all ready for the troops themselves to Sitka.

Admiral Thatcher, also, had provided transportation for the commissioners on the propeller man-of-war Ossipee, Captain Emmons commanding. Returning the admiral's call, visiting him on board his flagship Pensacola, the commissioners received a salute of her batteries.

Hastening in preparation, we took our departure for Sitka on the morning of the 27th of September.

When we set sail, we intended to go directly by the open sea to New Archangel, but after three or four days, during which the sea was very rough, with little or no wind, and making very slow progress, we concluded to go by way of Victoria and the straits, thus taking the inland passage. The troops and supplies had preceded us a day or two from San Francisco, and as they could not land at Sitka before we reached there, it was thought best to take the inland route in order to insure our arrival at the latter place certainly within a reasonable time. This we could not do in the open sea, as it was quite rough, and what wind we had or expected to have in October and till the middle of November was from the northwest (a head wind for us).

Our ship was very slow, and with a head wind or rough sea made not more than two or three knots an hour. The winds in the Northern Pacific from May to November inclusive, are from the northwest generally, and the balance of the year from the southwest. Besides, I suffered greatly from sea-sickness, followed by what I feared was congestive chills, and sought to avoid this suffering by taking the inland passage.

We reached Esquimalt, Vancouver's Island, on the night of the 4th of October, took in a supply of coal, and steamed for Sitka on the morning of the 6th. After a pleasant passage, taking it altogether, we cast anchor in the harbor of New Archangel on the 18th of October, at eleven o'clock a. m., where we found the troops and supplies had preceded us several days. The day was bright and beautiful. We landed immediately, and fixed the hour of three and a half o'clock that day for the transfer, of which General Jeff C. Davis, commanding the troops there; Captain Emmons, United States ship Ossipee; Captain McDougall, United States ship Jamestown; Captain Bradford, United States ship Resaca, and the officers of their respective commands, as also the governor of the territory, the Prince Maksuotoff, were notified and invited to be present.

The command of General Davis, about two hundred and fifty strong, in full uniform, armed and handsomely equipped, were landed about three o'clock, and marched up to the top of the eminence on which stands the governor's house, where the transfer was to be made. At the same time a company of Russian soldiers were marched to the ground, and took their place upon the left of the flag-staff, from which the Russian flag was then floating. The command of General Davis was formed under his direction on the right. The United States flag to be raised on the occasion was in care of a color guard—a lieutenant, a sergeant and ten men of General Davis' command. The officers above named, as well as the officers under their command, the Prince Maksoutoff, and his wife, the Princess Maksoutoff, together with many Russian and American citizens, and some Indians were present. The formation of the ground, however, was such as to preclude any considerable demonstration.

It was arranged by Captain Pestchouroff and myself that, in firing the salutes on the exchange of flags, the United States should lead off, in accordance with your instructions, but that there should be alternate guns from the American and Russian batteries, thus giving the flag of each nation a double national salute; the national salute being thus answered in the moment it was given. The troops being promptly formed, were, at precisely half past three o'clock, brought to a present arms, the signal given to the Ossipee (Lieutenant Crossman, executive officer of the ship, and for the time in command), which was to fire the salute, and the ceremony was begun by lowering the Russian flag. As it began its descent down the flag staff the battery of the Ossipee, with large nine-inch guns, led off in the salute, peal after peal crashing and re-echoing in the gorges of the surrounding mountains, answered by the Russian water battery (a battery on the wharf) firing alternately. But the ceremony was interrupted by the catching of the Russian flag in the ropes attached to the flag staff. The soldier who was lowering it, continuing to pull at it, tore off the border by which it was attached, leaving the flag entwined tightly around the ropes. The flag staff was a native pine, perhaps ninety feet in height. In an instant the

Russian soldiers, taking different shrouds attached to the flag staff, attempted to ascend to the flag, which, having been whipped around the ropes by the wind, remained tight and fast. At first (being sailors as well as soldiers) they made rapid progress, but laboring hard they soon became tired, and when half way up scarcely moved at all and finally came to a standstill. There was a dilemma, but in a moment a "boatswain's chair," so-called, was made by knotting a rope to make a loop for a man to sit in and be pulled upward, and another Russian soldier was quickly drawn up to the flag. On reaching it he detached it from the ropes, and not hearing the calls from Captain Pestchouroff below to "bring it down," dropped it below, and in its descent it fell on the bayonets of the Russian soldiers.

The United States flag (the one given to me for that purpose, by your direction, at Washington) was then properly attached and began its ascent, hoisted by my private secretary, George Lovell Rousseau, and again the salutes were fired as before, the Russian water battery leading off. The flag was so hoisted that in the instant it reached its place the report of the last big gun of the Ossipee reverberated from the mountains around. The salutes being completed, Captain Pestchouroff stepped up to me and said: "General Rousseau, by authority from his Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, I transfer to the United States the Territory of Alaska," and in as few words I acknowledged the acceptance of the transfer, and the ceremony was at an end. Three cheers were then spontaneously given for the United States flag by the American citizens present, although this was no part of the programme, and on some accounts I regretted that it occurred.

Captain Pestchouroff, the governor and myself, on the Monday following, went to work to distinguish between the public and private buildings in the town of New Archangel, and giving certificates to private individual owners of property there.

I found that by the charter of the Russian American company it had authority to vest its employes, occupants of land in the territory, the title thereto. This was on condition, however, that the possession of the Indians should not be interfered with. Acting under this charter, the company, from the first caused dwellings to be erected for the use of its employes on lots of ground set apart for that purpose. The title in fee to such premises was often vested in the employe in possession, when he had faithfully served out his term with the company; or having died before it ended, and having a widow or children in the Territory, the title was frequently vested in them. This was one mode adopted by the company of taking care of its employes, when, by old age or other disability, they were unable to maintain themselves, and of their widows or children after their death. So the employe generally occupied such dwelling while he lived, and at his death it passed to his widow or children, if any in the territory; and if none, then it reverted to the company. The term of service of these employes was somewhat

similar to an apprenticeship in our law. It was fixed by the charter at five years, the company paying certain wages, which were small, and furnishing the necessary supplies, and presenting a bonus, named in the contract, to the employe at the end of the term of service. In some instances, not many, the employes brought with them their wives from Russia, but far more frequently they were unmarried men and intermarried with Indian women in the territory.

By a provision of the charter, or by rule of the company, to which it conformed in all cases as to a law, an old and disabled employe, while he lived in the territory, and his widow and children after his death (so long as the children were unable to maintain themselves) were considered the wards of the company, to whom it regularly paid a yearly pension.

Finding in its charter this authority of the company to vest title to land in its employes, and that very many of the dwellings erected by the company were occupied by its employes, or their widows and children, who claimed the property in fee, the commissioners called on the governor, Prince Maksoutoff, to define and certify to the interests of each individual thus occupying such dwellings and lots, in order that we might distinguish between those who owned the property in fee and those who claimed a less interest, and in compliance with your instructions give certificates to the claimants accordingly.

The inventories respectively marked C and D (forming part of the protocol) which are forwarded with this report, will show, in part, the action of the governor in the premises; for the rest he gave a certificate stating the interest of each occupant in the premises occupied, on the back of which the commissioners placed their approval, and it was left to be delivered to the occupant. In order to be accurate, and to prevent disputes hereafter about the title to houses and lots, we made a map of New Archangel(forwarded with this report) on which every house and dwelling in town is located and numbered, and as between the claimant and the United States, the title to it defined and settled in the inventories. This was thought necessary in order to give in acordance with your instructions to each man of property who desired to dispose of it, a certificate of title.

The town of New Archangel was built in the main by the Russian American Company, and except the dwellings transferred by them to their employes, and the public buildings transferred to the United States, is owned by that company still; yet it has but a possessory interest in the land, as it only had permission to erect buildings upon it; for although it had authority to vest the title of lands in its employes, it had no power to vest such title in itself. The commissioners left the matter as they found it, and the company in possession of its buildings.

The harbor is not a very secure one, as it is rather exposed, and the bottom is too rocky to allow the anchors to hold well. On that account the Russian American Company has placed in it buoys and chain cables, to which the ships lying at anchor might

be fastened in aid of the anchorage. These cables etc., were the private property of the company, but as the harbor was not at all safe without them, and as we had several ships passing the winter there, I expressed a wish to the Russian commissioner that they might remain as they were for the present, to which he consented. As commissioner I had no authority to purchase the articles, but I requested Captain Pestchouroff and Governor Maksoutoff to name a price for which they might be bought. Ten thousand dollars was accordingly named, as will appear by the note of Captain Pestchouroff, which I forward herewith. I know very little of the value of buoys and chains, but think the price demanded is not unreasonable.

All the buildings in anywise used for public purposes were delivered to the United States commissioner, taken possession of and turned over to General Davis, as were also the public archives of the territory; and in a spirit of liberality the wharf and several valuable warehouses belonging to the Russian American company were included in the transfer by the Russian commissioner. Both the wharf and the warehouses were very much needed by our people.

We could not visit Kodiak, or any other point in the new territory, as the season in which we might expect stormy weather was rapidly approaching.

For the further action of the commissioners, in the execution of their commission, your attention is respectfully called to the protocol, map and inventories accompanying this report. With this report and accompanying papers, I return to you the United States flag used on the occasion of the transfer of the territory.

In your instructions, both written and verbal, you were somewhat particular to impress me with your desire that all the intercourse between the Russian and American commissioners should be liberal, frank and courteous; and I am pleased to say that from the meeting of Captain Pestchouroff and myself in your office till we parted, after our work was ended, all our communication and association with each other, personal and official, were of the friendliest character, and just such as I am sure you desired.

I found the Governor, Prince Maksoutoff and Captain Koskul, both representing the Russian American Company, equally kind and courteous with Captain Pestchouroff.

I saw very little of the new territory, and I regret that I could not see more. I cannot, therefore, say much about it which you do not already know. The speech of Mr. Sumner in the United States Senate on the ratification of the treaty ceding the territory of Alaska is very accurate in all its details, so far as I am able to judge. Indeed, I thought its accuracy very remarkable in the description it contained of the climate, the people, resources, etc., of the new territory, as he assumed to know nothing personally about it.

The people of Sitka seemed to be quiet, orderly and law-abiding; of the Russian proper there were about 500 on the island.

If kindly treated by our people, most of them will remain as citizens of the United States. Many of them have already made their election to remain under the stipulations of the treaty by which the territory was ceded to our government. Generally they were satisfied with the transfer of the territory, as were also most of the Indians. The latter received from the Americans since the transfer exorbitant prices for fish and game and whatever they had to sell, and were generally pleased with the change. A Kollosian chief, however, angrily remarked, "True, we allowed the Russians to possess the island, but we did not intend to any and every fellow that may come along."

At New Archangel the climate is not cold, but it rains a great deal. Mr. Sumner was right when he said the climate was about the same as that of Washington City in temperature.

The valley of New Archangel is almost surrounded by high mountains, is very low and marshy, and does not afford a fair test of the adaptation of the territory to agricultural purposes. But I noticed vegetables growing in the gardens there, such as cabbages, turnips, potatoes, beets, etc., and that the beds or hills upon which they grew were considerably elevated to avoid the moisture caused by the constant rains. The potatoes were small, but both they and the beets were of the finest flavor. I was told that the climate of Kodiak and of the Aleutian Islands generally, as well as of the main land, was colder and dryer than that of Sitka, and that vegetation of various kinds could be grown there.

I saw fine hogs and sheep at Sitka that were raised on the island. I ate of both, and found them of the finest quality. I saw cows there, also, in good condition, which gave excellent milk.

The fisheries on the coast, as Mr. Sumner asserts, are, as I was informed by those who knew, very fine, and from which any quantity of fish may be taken—salmon, trout, cod and other kinds.

The forests are immense, and the timber, pine, etc., of a fine quality.

We remained a week at Sitka. It required that time to complete the transfer in the manner before stated. We steamed out of the harbor just at night, into the open sea, on Saturday, the 26th of November, for Cape Decision, seventy-five miles distant, where we could enter the straits, and by the inland passage return by the same route we took in going to Sitka. But before we reached the cape we encountered a storm, the severest known on the coast by any one now there. It lasted about twenty hours, and we very narrowly escaped being lost, nothing but the strength of our ship, and the efficiency of the crew, under Providence, saving us. In the midst of the gale, the tiller or rudder ropes, parted, all of our life-boats were swept away, and all of the fires under the boilers, save two, extinguished, with three feet of water in the wardroom and nearly as much on the main deck. The storm being ended, we put back to Sitka to repair damages. About thirty-five sailors were injured in the storm. In a few

days afterwards, with better luck, we reached Cape Decision, and came on through the straits to Victoria.

A steamer of ordinary size and power can go from Victoria to New Archangel by way fo the straits, except about ten or fifteen miles; this by running up the straits to a point ten or fifteen miles beyond the town, thence entering the open sea and running back into the harbor. The passage is a safe one, and amidst scenery as grand and beautiful as there is in the world. The mountains, covered with forests, rise almost perpendicularly out of the water to a height of one to three thousand feet, and from the very tops of which gush out foaming waterfalls. In grandeur and sublimity there is nothing like it on this continent.

I have no doubt this passage—about 840 miles from Victoria to Sitka—will form a part of the great highway from the United States to the latter place, as it is both safe and delightfully pleasant. The waters are very deep, and anchorages not numerous, but enough. Along the shores are safe land-locked little bays and harbors, formed by notches in the mountain sides, where vessels of any size can anchor in quiet and safety.

Hoping that the president and yourself will be satisfied with my efforts to discharge the duty assigned me, in accordance with instructions given for my guidance, and that the new territory may prove as valuable an acquisition to our country as you would desire it, I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

LOVELL H. ROUSSEAU,
United States Commissioner and Brig. Gen., U. S. A.

Hon. William H. Seward,
Secretary of State.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Nez Percés Since Lewis and Clark. By Kate C. McBeth. New York and Chicago. Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908, p. 272.

In adding a new book to the rather scanty literature on the Nez Percés Indians, Miss McBeth has made a contribution to Northwestern history which will be welcomed in many libraries. Some of the pen pictures of early mission days are excellent and a vivid bit here and there brings pioneer days sharply before the reader. In general, however, the book is not nearly so much a history of the tribe as it is the story of her sister's mission work among them. By far the greater part of it is devoted purely to the introduction and development of the Christian religion among these Indians, and "Missions among the Nez Percés since Lewis and Clark" would have been a far more accurate title.

Evidently in preparation for her writing, Miss McBeth studied only histories bearing directly upon the Nez Percés, as indicated in the preface, and this results in some rather surprising historical inaccuracies. On p. 35 she says, "To explore the Oregon country (this whole country from the Bitter Roots to the sea was called Oregon then). . . ." The general concensus of historical opinion is that the Oregon country was bounded on the east by the Rocky Mountains, not by the Bitter Roots. Again on the much-debated question of the delegation to the east for the "White man's book of Heaven" she remarks, "It is strange that historians have made such careless statements about this delegation—that they were Flatheads, or the Flathead branch of the Nez Percés. . . . I have never heard that the Flatheads claimed the honor." The Naiveté in this statement is charming, but if she were to make that statement on the Flathead reservation she would be very quickly enlightened as to the Flathead claims. This tradition of the three or four delegations to the east for the "Black Robes" is one of the strongest of the tribe and has much evidence in its favor. It is quite possible, of course, that the Nez Percés did make the very first trip, in company with a Flathead, but it is probable that they first heard of this religion through the Flatheads, since their regular route to the buffalo country was through the Lo Lo pass and the Flathead country. That, however, is another story.

Again, commenting on the name Flatheads, which she claims to have been given by Lewis and Clark, and without reason, it may be recalled that the Flathead tribe (who were not flatheaded Indians) were called 'Ootlashoots by the explorers, and that the old name Tetes Plats goes back far beyond the days of American possession to the time of Jonathan Carver, and he did not by any means invent the name. It was current then.

The name of the tribe is spelled Nez Perces, instead of Nez Percés throughout the entire book—never a French accent.

Take it all in all, the book is somewhat disappointing. It is capable of being so much better. Good descriptions of the places mentioned, such, for instance as the Kamiah valley which is invariably called "beautiful," a keener perception of the artistic possibilities of the subject under discussion, and a more connected narrative would add greatly to the permanent value of the book. The story is so disjointed, especially in touching upon the early missions, as to require very careful reading and a fairly good knowledge beforehand of early history.

If the book could have been written in collaboration with some one who, because less familiar with these missions, could have brought out more clearly the logical sequence of the facts mentioned in the narrative, a better description of places, one who could have emphasized the tribal history of these Indians, its value would have been greatly enhanced.

—KATHARINE BERRY JUDSON.

Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Smithsonian Institution. (Washington, D. C.: Gvernment Printing Office, 1908, 512 pp.)

All of the publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology are of interest and value to historians and this one has an especial attraction for those in Northwestern America. It contains a paper covering more than a hundred generous pages on Alaskan Indians by John R. Swanton. The title of the paper is: "Social Conditions, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians." The object of the researches recorded was to study the language and myths for a comparison with those of the Haida, with which the author was familiar, and "to add as much as possible to our knowledge of Tlingit ethnology generally." The work bears every evidence of having been carefully done and it will undoubtedly prove helpful to all future students of that interesting people. The phonetics used are those employed by Professor Boas and others who worked with the Bureau of Amer-

ican Ethnology and the American Museum of Natural History. No layman can comprehend those phonetics but they have the value of securely and accurately embalming the information until it can be extricated by other workers in the deeply technical phases of the subject. Half-tones, drawings and colored plates enhance the interest of Mr. Swanton's report.

The United States as a World Power. By Archibald Cary Coolidge. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908.)

If one were disposed to be severely critical of this book they would be disarmed at the threshold by these two statements in the preface: "No one can be more conscious than the author of this volume how far it is from carrying out the too ambitious promise of its title;" and "This book was originally prepared in the form of lectures which were delivered at the Sarboune in the winter of 1906-07 as the Harvard lectures on the Hyde foundation. Since then it has been entirely recast, but it doubtless still retains traces of having been first addressed to a foreign audience, the more so as I have striven to preserve a neutral rather than a specifically American attitude."

The spirit of the book is thus set forth in the introduction: "The United States may be a world in itself, but it is also a part of a larger world. There is no doubt that its power for good and for evil is very great. How that power is to be used is of consequence to all humanity."

The scope of the book may be seen from the titles of the nineteen chapters as follows: "Formation and Growth, Nationality and Immigration, Race Questions, Ideals and Shibboleths, The Monroe Doctrine, The Spanish War, The Acquisition of Colonies, The Philippine Question, Economic Considerations, The United States and France, The United States and Germany, The United States and Russia, The United States and England, The United States and Canada, The Isthmian Canal, The United States and Latin America, The United States in the Pacific, The United States and China, The United States and Japan."

From that table of contents it will readily be seen that there is much here to challenge the attention of readers in this far western portion of the Republic. Two quotations from the chapter on "The United States in the Pacific" will give the reader a hint of what to expect: "In the days when the Americans first assumed their place among nations, neither they nor others foresaw how soon they would turn their attention towards the distant Pacific Ocean, and play for a leading part on its shores."

* * * * "But the Pacific is not for any one nation to take exclusively to itself; and American boasts about domination, besides being irritating to others, are premature. Every one of the world powers has territories in this domain, and interests which it will defend to the best of its ability. Not only has imperial Britain widespread possessions in this ocean world, but it has a merchant marine many times larger than that of the United States, and a far stronger navy; and it has also great and growing children, Canada and Australia, who will have to be taken into account by their American kindred. And there are others to be considered. Both China and Japan, if in different ways, have entered into the drama of world politics, which they have already profoundly affected, and on which their further influence is incalculable. With both of these the present relations of the United States exceed in intricacy and in difficulty, when not in actual importance, those with any state in Europe."

The book is timely and well worth while.

The World's Peoples. By A. H. Keane. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908. 434 pp.)

This is a popular description of the races of the world by a well known ethnologist who has published many important works within the fields of his special researches. The popular and captivating character of the present volume is revealed by the fact that it has two hundred and seventy illustrations from original photographs, gathered from every quarter of the globe.

The firmness with which the author seeks to deal with his large theme may be seen from this sentence in the preface: "This book therefore deals, not with faint probabilities, but with established facts, while here and there opportunity has still been taken to point out, for instance, the obvious origin of such universal institutions as tabu, or the totem, which have given rise to so much mystification on the part of speculators beginning at the wrong end."

There is no doubt that this book will become highly prized, the more it is known. In commenting on Professor Keane's larger work on Ethnology the London Academy says the author "speaks as a first-hand authority of the highest rank."

NEWS DEPARTMENT.

Educational Congress at Walla Walla.

The programme scheduled for this congress in connection with the expansion of Whitman College, for November 17 and 18, contains much of interest to historians as follows:

Opening Address by Judge Thomas Burke of Seattle, temporary chairman of the Board of Overseers.

"Whitman College, Its Organization and Present Status," by President S. B. L. Penrose.

"The Greater Whitman, its Purpose to Become the Representative Private Institution of the Pacific Northwest," by Dean A. W. Hendrick.

"The Economic Value to the Pacific Northwest if the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Were Transplanted From Boston to Walla Walla," by Alfred E. Burton, Dean of the Massasetts Institute of Technology, Boston.

"Is a Great Private Institution Located in the Same Territory, a Benefit or a Hindrance to the Institutions Supported by the State?" by Doctor Cyrus Northup, President of the University of Minnesota.

"Forestry Education, Is It Needed?" by E. T. Allen, Chief Inspector of the Forest Service for the North Pacific Coast, representing the United States Department of Agriculture.

"The Education Advantageous to Irrigation," by D. C. Henney, Supervising Engineer of the Reclamation Service, representing the United States Department of the Interior.

"Future Buildings of Whitman College. Architectural Plans with Stereoptican Views," by E. T. Lawrence, of the firm of McNaughton, Raymond & Lawrence, of Portland Oregon.

"The Importance of Having a Private Christian Institution Sufficiently Endowed that it may Influence in Some Measure the Educational Policy of the Territory in which it is Located," by Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., Secretary of the Corporation of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

The evening functons included receptions at the homes of President S. B. L. Penrose, Acting President L. F. Anderson, Mr. J. W. Langdon, and at Reynolds Hall, and a banquet to Doctor D. K. Pearsons, of Chicago, the philanthropist who has aided forty colleges in the United States.

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(Continued from October, 1908)

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THE PACIFIC OCEAN AND THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST.*

The Mediterranean, North and Baltic Seas have always been European seas; and have played their part in the making of a common life about their shores. When in the fourteenth century the Atlantic European coast was first used these two mediterranean lakes were united and the beginning of a new phase of European culture was greatly accelerated. The Atlantic Ocean, one may justly say, has always been and is an European lake. When the Europeans arrived in America no nation was present to contest with them the supremacy of this Ocean, and since that day no rivals have appeared there to endanger the European dominance. The Atlantic at the present day is international only in the European sense of the term; from the world point of view it is still an European sea with European peoples and ideals in control of all its coast. The Indian Ocean, on the other hand, has always been an international sea—where, however, the Asiatics have been paramount. Chinese, Malayans, Hindoos, Arabians, Egyptians and Africans have followed its continental shores from the earliest days. Greeks and Phœnicians have plowed its water; Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, French and English have in turn been in control, but it is still an international sea in the broadest sense of the term, and in its racial aspect it is still Asiatic. With the exception of the Arabians in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean is the only sea where the European and the Asiatic have met in war and peace. The Pacific Ocean is historically the youngest of all the seas, the baby of all the oceans. Until the eighteenth century its eastern peoples held it in much the same respect that the Europeans held the Atlantic before the time of Columbus; and the people that penetrated from island to island into its interior left, as one may judge from their legends, very much as the inhabitants of the Atlantic coast and

*Paper read at the meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, November 21, 1908.

islands felt before the days of Henry the Navigator. Its western edges have been given eastern names—China, Eastern, Yellow, Japan and Ochotsch Seas. For a century Russia controlled a part as her own; for two centuries and a half Spain dominated its greater portion; and only in the eighteenth century did its Europeanization begin—the making of it into an European international sea. And it was only with the rise of Japan and China in the late nineteenth century that it began its career as an international sea in the world-sense. The part that the Pacific Northwest played in the birth of this ocean child is the problem of this paper.

The Pacific Northwest in the historical sense, as now generally accepted, comprises the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, a part of Montana, together with British Columbia. In other words, it is the territory between 42° and 54° 40′ and west of the Rocky Mountains—that territory drained by the Columbia and Fraser Rivers. It fronts to the Ocean and backs to the continent; in both directions it is uniquely and advantageously located.

On the land side it stands preeminently favored in its geographical and historical connection with the Atlantic from the mouth of the Mississippi to the mouth of the Nelson. Considering it geographically: The transcontinental river system from the Gulf of Mexico is via the Rio Grande and the Mississippi through the Red and Arkansas Rivers, the Missouri and The Platte—all leading into the Colorado valley and meeting the Pacific in the Gulf of California and the southern end of the state of California. From the Atlantic via the Ohio, the St. Lawrence and the Lakes the river connection with the Pacific is up the Missouri and its branches, The Platte and the Yellowstone, and on either to San Francisco Bay in following the Humboldt River or on to the Columbia in following down the Snake, Clearwater or Clarke Rivers. From Hudson Bay the Nelson-Saskatchewan Rivers again connect with the upper Columbia; or from the lower Hudson Bay over the Lakes and through the Athabasca and Peace Rivers the entrance to the Pacific is down the Fraser or the Skeena. The Hudson Bay-Mackenzie route leads to the Arctic; while crossing from the Mackenzie to the Yukon leads to Bering Sea. The Fraser and the Columbia drain the Pacific Northwest; and this territory, it is then noted, is the Pacific entrance from the Gulf of Mexico, from the Atlantic via of the Ohio and the St. Lawrence and from the Hudson Bay—a characteristic noted in no other part of the Pacific Coast.

When considered historically a similar uniqueness is noted. The first crossings from one Ocean to the other were from the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea over the Isthmus by Balboa, and through Mexico to Acapulco and to the Gulf of California. The first crossing of the continent north of the latitude of the mouth of the Mississippi was through the Great Lakes, Saskatchewan, Peace River, across the Fraser to the Ocean within

the territory of the Pacific Northwest. Then came Lewis and Clark down the Columbia; followed in time by the trail-makers over the Humboldt Sink and down the American River; and last of all came the miners from the Mackenzie to the Yukon.

The geographical connection of the Pacific Northwest with the Atlantic coast is not a sufficient explanation of its uniqueness in history; that is due to its own inherent wealth and to the accidents of legend and seamanship. It was India that drew the Spaniards across the Isthmus and Mexico, and European rivalry that helped to draw them northward up the Coast. It was the Northwest Passage that drew Drake towards the waters off the coast of the Pacific Northwest; and the legends of Maldonado, De Fonte, Peche and especially of Juan De Fuca that localized within its borders the western entrance of this long sought for passage; while the accident of Cook's finding of Nootka Sound discovered the existence of the fur-bearing animals and an accessible traders' rendezvous. These two things brought the traders by water, and the Northwest, the Hudson's Bay and the American Fur Companies by land. Gold in 1849 drew the prairie schooners down the Humboldt River; but gold in 1897 drew but very few people up the Mackenzie and down the Yukon.

From the consideration thus far one must conclude that the Pacific Northwest is but one of the five north continental gateways to the Pacific Ocean. Spain crossed the Isthmus from Mexico from what she considered to be one of her lakes to another; this is a Spanish gateway—it belongs to Spanish national and colonial history. Even though Spain laid claim to the rest of the Coast by right of papal arbitration the other nations of Europe ignoringly entered, drawn by one cause or another. From the days of Juan De Fuca the Pacific Northwest was closely associated with the Northwest Passage; the discovery of the fur-bearing animals placed it at once into the vortex of internationality; traders and explorers from different parts of Europe visited there; it drew to itself the transcontinental explorers and trappers; the fur companies headed toward its waters; it received the first settlers on the Coast beyond the Spanish and Russian rule; to its aborigines came the first missionaries not connected with a national enterprise; it was to have been the Pacific terminus of the first transcontinental railroad, and the first railroad survey made to the Coast was to its shores; it was the first part of the Coast to come into European international relations, as well as into European international complications. What fur was to this territory gold was later to California and still later to the Yukon. For the northern continent, then, it was geographically and historically *the* gateway to the Pacific, and north of the Isthmus it was the third place to perform this function.

For the southern continent such a question of gateways could not arise. Balboa on the north and Magellan on the south answered this question nearly three centuries before it was asked. And when it did arise it was either a Spanish colonial or a South American problem and not an European international question.

When the Pacific Northwest is considered as a gateway in relation to the coast stretching from the Magellan to the Bering Straits its unique position is again in evidence. From Patagonia to California the crossings and interests were *Spanish* and national. From California northward the coast, though claimed by Spain, was open to the other powers; yet it is the Pacific Northwest porition of it that became *European* and *European international.* Because the finding of its fur resulted in a trade of European peoples with China it became, moreover, international in the world sense. In other words, by the gateways from Acapulco southward Spain was led to a Spanish South Sea; the Pacific Northwest led European nations to an international Pacific.

In turning now to the birth of the Pacific Ocean one notices that it was an unexpected and unwelcome child. The Spice Islands and India were the objects of search by the western way that brought it, as well as America, first into evidence. Balboat saw the South Sea where Magellan later found the Pacific. Magellan's discovery of the Philippine Islands, the lack of nautical instruments to determine the longitudinal relation of this group to the Spice Islands discovered by the Portuguese in the preceding decade, and the Papal Line of Demarcation and the subsequent treaty of 1529 dividing the unknown lands and waters between Spain and Portugal—these are the facts that threw Spain into the Pacific and kept Portugal out. The pious observance of a papal mandate forced Spain to reach the Philippines through 230° of latitude, while Portugal reached even the Spice Islands through 130°. Saavedra shortened Magellan's way in reaching the Philippines from Acapulco; and a generation later Legazpi made the return voyage and Gali found the North Pacific current. Spanish, then, was the triangular part of the Ocean, whose base reached from Mexico to the Straits and whose apex lay in the Philippines. With the exception of the few sea-rovers hounding the Spanish plate fleets, the Pacific slept in the Spanish solitude till the eighteenth century.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century Bering built his town in Kamchatka and thence discovered the waters bearing his name, the islands and the Alaskan coast to Mt. St. Elias. In this extension of Russia into America a fur trade early arose and slowly within a century found its international limitation in the Pacific Northwest. Like Spain in her part of the Ocean Russia treated the northern waters as her own and upheld her

claim, internationally, to the sea north of a line running from the mouth of the Amour to a point within the Pacific Northwest.

At the end of the eighteenth century Cook discovered Australia and New Zealand on the one side, the Sandwich Islands in the center, and the Pacific Northwest on the opposite side of the Pacific. He completed the rim of the Ocean and brought it to the notice of an Europe ready to receive it. He found the fur-bearing animal on one side of the Pacific and a market for the fur on the other.* Unlike Spain and Russia, England laid no national claims to the Pacific, but through her example as a free discoverer and an ardent trader, she reared the child of Spain and Russia to its international majority as an European sea,—and through her introduction of Japan into the world-arena she introduced at the end of the nineteenth century the Pacific to its unique position as an international sea in the world sense.

The gateways to the Pacific have been with one exception on the eastern side. In the wake of Columbus to his India and in obedience to the papal throne, Spain entered the Ocean from the east on her way to the East Indies. In the wake of the Spanish plate-fleets came the English sea-rovers and bucaneers; through the results of the Seven Years' War and the desire for the finding of the Northwest Passage as a short cut to India England again entered it from the eastern side. Following the English came the Americans, French, the Dutch-Austrians and the Germans. Australia and New Zealand were not gateways. The Portuguese, Dutch, French and English entered the East Indies on the Pacific's west; but the loadstar of the Age of Discovery set over these Islands, and these people penetrated no further into its waters. The Land of the Rising Sun only recently has faced about and discovered the Ocean whence came the prodding that waked her from her sleep, while China is even yet viewing it with the dust of centuries in her eyes. Kamchatka alone on the west opened up the Pacific to an expanding power, but like Spain Russia wrote above this gateway "private entrance." Australasia was too new, the Far East was too old, the East Indies were too self-sufficient; so Kamchatka alone was the western gateway—but only to a national ocean. On the other side of the Pacific from the Straits to Acapulco the gateways were considered by Spain, religiously and politically, as entrances to her own waters. This was true also of Russia in Alaska—which, by the way, was *not* a gateway from Russia to the Pacific, but the limit of her expansion. Between the Spanish and the Russian littorals lay the Pacific Northwest which England used by land and sea to enter into the Pacific.

*I am using the word Cook to cover the whole voyage from the time that it started from England until its return. Cook, of course, was killed in the Sandwich Islands and James commanded the expedition thence to China and Europe.

The England from Elizabeth to George III. outgrew the Spanish and papal claims to national ocean possession; and in spite of these claims entered into the Pacific by the Spanish Straits. The mere entrance of Cook into these waters and the mere discoveries which he made would alone put him on a plane but little above that of Canvendish and raise him but slightly above the historical importance of Drake. Russia knew of the fur-bearing animals of Siberia and Alaska, and also knew of the Chinese market for the fur; but Europe, ready to trade and venture, was still in the dark. Cook, in the same voyage, found both the animals and the market, and unstintingly made them known to the world. The world accepted; Europe, not England alone, now began its entrance into the Pacific through the Pacific Northwest, and the national rule of Spain and Russia began to wane. European internationality succeeded to European nationality.

Another point of interest to be noted is the relation into which Cook threw the opposite shores of the Pacific. Whatever was of value and use on the Pacific shore of Mexico and South America was of value and use in direct relation to Spain. Its gold and its products were transported to the old home or to parts of her possessions; and the Philippines were only outlying Islands off the coast of Spanish America. Russia brought the Alaskan wares to Siberia and thence overland to China and Europe, and also considered her part of the Ocean to be an inland sea and the Alaska lands as lands off the Siberian coast. Australia and England, the East Indies and their respective possessors were also *inner*national relations. But Cook's discoveries and the European utilization of them threw the Pacific into relations of its own. The centers of interest were the wares on the one coast and the markets on the other; European and American traders served as mediators.

The Pacific Northwest was the home of the fur-bearing animal; it drew the nations to its shores by water and to its rivers by land; it was the gateway to the Ocean by both land and water. Its wares, marketable in China, brought the shores of the Pacific together internationally as the papal bull had brought the Philippines to Spanish America nationally. The coming of the European nations to the Pacific Northwest by water and land made the Pacific what the Atlantic was—an European Ocean; but the trade between the Pacific Northwest and the Chinese markets made the Pacific what the Atlantic was not—an international ocean in the world sense, The freedom of the European colonies in America made, it is true, the Atlantic an international Ocean even in the relations on its western shores—yet still an European international Ocean.

In conclusion, then the Pacific Northwest seems to stand at the point where the national control passed over to the international interest in the great ocean; through this territory the European powers made its acquaint-

ance; through this territory they entered into its trade and exploration; and through this territory its shores were brought together. Asia and Europe were again brought face to face, and the Pacific itself made, as no other ocean has ever been made, an international and an interracial sea.

J. N. BOWMAN.

Berkeley, Cal.,

November 21, 1908.

SUFFRAGE IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Old Oregon and Washington

In 1840, there were three classes of settlements in Oregon Territory: first, the establishments, forts and trading posts of the Hudson Bay Company; second, the missionary establishments under control of religious societies; third, settlements proper by individuals. Willamette Valley was really the American Oregon, while the region north of the Columbia was in control of the Bay Company. No form of government existed except such as was exercised by the company, although the Methodist mission had provided a magistrate and constable for the protection of the rights of Americans in the country. There was opposition to this by the settlers and in a petition to Congress, they asked the protection of the United States and a territorial form of government.[1]

On Feb. 7, 1841, a meeting was held at Champoeg, "for the purpose of consulting upon the steps necessary to be taken for the formation of laws and the election of officers to execute them." Little was done, but the Americans were beginning to organize, although not united as to form of government, even in the face of opposition which was sure to come from the Hudson Bay people.

At the grave of Ewing Young (Feb. 17, 1841) there was a general meeting of the settlers and the question of organizing a civil government was discused. Nothing was accomplished in the subsequent meetings of that year but the appointing of Dr. Ira L. Babcock as supreme judge, with probate powers. One resolution is of note, however: "Resolved, That all settlers north of the Columbia River, not connected with the Hudson Bay Company, be admitted to the protection of our laws on making application to that effect."[2]

After the emigration of 1842 and 1843, the need of law was more apparent. A few leaders were quietly waiting an opportunity to establish some form of self-government. Among these was W. H. Gray. He found, or made his opportunity, at the "wolf meeting" of Feb. 2, 1843. After the "wolf business" was disposed of, Mr. Gray, in a strong speech, proposed: "That a committee of twelve persons be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of taking measures for the civil and military protection of this colony."[3]

[1]Senate Document No. 514, Twenty-sixth Congress, First Session; quoted in Gray's "Oregon," pp. 194-196.
[2]Grover, Oregon Archives, p. 5.
[3]Gray, History of Oregon, pp. 266-267.

The resolution was adopted and Oregon had begun her famous Provisional Government. The opposition of the British was soon manifest and at the meeting of May 2, 1843, the entire male population of Oregon was present. When a division and count was called for, the count stood fifty-two for and fifty against the organization of government.

On July 5, 1843, the Organic Law was adopted by the people of the territory and officers were elected. In that first election, the settlers, the disaffected Methodist Mission, and some of the British took part. The Organic Law read: "Be it enacted by the free citizens of Oregon Territory" and the official oath was phrased, "As consistent with my duties as a citizen of the United States or a subject of Great Britain,"[4] so no distinction was made on acount of nationality in granting suffrage. By 1845, all classes had become reconciled to the existence of the Provisional Government. The Organic Law was amended and strengthened, and officers were elected from the British as well as from the American element. An attempt was made on Aug. 15, 1845, to shut out the foreign element when Mr. Hill offered the following resolution in the Assembly, "That no person belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, or in their service, shall ever be consdiered as citizens of the Government of Oregon nor have the right of suffrage or the elective franchise."[5]

When the memorial was sent to Congress in 1845, praying that body to "establish a distinct Territorial Government, and to legalize the acts of the people so far as they are in accordance with the laws of the United States,[6] a copy of the Organic Law containing this provision was sent also. "Every free male descendant of a white man, inhabitant of this Territory, of the age of twenty-one years and upward, who shall have been an inhabitant of this Territory at the time of its organization, shall be entitled to vote at the election of officers, civil or military, and be eligible to any office in the Territory; provided, that all persons of the description, entitled to vote by the provisions of this section, who shall emigrate to this Territory, after organization, shall be entitled to the rights of citizens after having resided six months in the Territory."[7]

On Aug. 14, 1848, the Oregon Act created Oregon Territory and Sec. 5 reads: "Every white male inhabitant of twenty-one years of age, resident of the Territory at passage of this act, shall be entitled to vote at the first election, but all qualifications of voters at all subsequent elections shall be prescribed by the Legislative Assembly, provided: that the right of suffrage and of holding office shall be exercised by citizens of the United States, provided further: No officer, soldier, seaman, or marine, or other

[4]Grover, Oregon Archives, p. 28.
[5]Grover, Oregon Archives, p. 108.
[6]Grover, Oregon Archives, p. 106.
[7]Senate Document No. 353, Twenty-ninth Congress, ser. No. 476.

person attached to the service of the United States, shall be allowed to vote unless he has been a resident of the Territory for six months." Thus when Oregon came under the laws of the United States, the question of naturalization had to be considered and the Legislature of 1851 granted the right of suffrage to free white male citizens, or foreigners, duly naturalized, but it also provided that foreigners who had resided in the Territory five years previous to the Act, who had filed a declaration of intention to become citizens prior to January, 1850, should be entitled to the rights of citizens. Any question as to qualifications was to be decided by the judges, who were to require oath or affirmation in case of doubt.[8]. The law of 1853 made little change and simply classified voters as free white male inhabitants, citizens of the United States.[9]

This ends the first period of suffrage in the Territory, for on October 25, of the previous year, 1852, a convention, which met at Monticello, had sent a memorial to Congress asking that Northern Oregon be organized as a separate Territory under the name of Columbia. On November 4, the Oregon Legislature made the same petition to Congress and on March 2, 1853, the Territory of Washington was created. The Organic Law, with amendments, was the constitution of the Territory until statehood. The qualifications of voters, given in Sec. 5 of the Organic Law, were identically the same as the qualifications of electors in the Oregon Act of 1848.[10] Gov. Isaac I. Stevens in his first proclamation, 1854, gives the number of inhabitants in Washington Territory as 3965, and the number of voters as 1682, and suggests an annual census to ascertain the qualified electors on account of the constantly increasing population.[11] Almost the first thing considered by the new legislature was the question of elections, and the first section of the first statute of the laws of 1854 defines the qualifications of electors. The status of the half-breed seemed to be the paramount issue with our first legislators. Several amendments were offered in the House, such as "No American half-breed shall vote unless naturalized," "American half-breeds, or Indians, now citizens shall have a vote."[12] These amendments were lost in the House, but when the council passed House Bill No. 51, the folowing proviso was added: "Provided, that nothing in this act shall be construed as to prohibit persons of mixed white and Indian blood who have adopted the customs and habits of civilization from voting."[13] The House accepted the amendment April 14, 1854, and in the discussion, Mr. A. A. Denny moved to amend the amendment, as "to allow all white females over the age of eighteen years

8Laws of Oregon, 1851, p. 104.
9Laws of Oregon, 1853, p. 69.
10Laws of Washington Territory, 1854, p. 35.
11House Journal, Washington Territory, 1854, p. 20.
12House Journal, Wash. Ter., pp. 58-61.
13Council Journal, Wash. Ter., 1854-5, p. 110.

to vote."[14] This was lost and the right of suffrage was given to "All white male inhabitants of twenty-one years, of three months' residence, provided they were citizens of the United States, or had declared their intentions to become such." The foregoing proviso was incorporated in the bill, and suffrage was denied to "persons under guardianship, insane persons, and persons convicted of treason, felony, or bribery unless restored to civil rights."

Soon after this law was passed, the council received a memorial from the citizens of Lewis County, asking that suffrage be restricted to certain half-breeds, "those who could read and write." Leclaire, a Catholic missionary of Cowlitz Mission, sent a message to the council approving this memorial and stating that the Indian half-breed needed some responsibility for improvement thrown upon him.[15] This memorial called forth a majority report opposed to, and a minority report in favor of the petition. Further legislation failed at this session, but in the second session, the question was again warmly discussed and the law of Jan. 25, 1855, gives the right of suffrage to "white American citizens, or white naturalized citizens having been in the Territory six months, and in the county twenty days preceding the election, with the proviso that no officer, soldier, seaman, or marine in the army or navy of the United States, should be allowed to vote."[16]

An amendment was suggested that residence should commence at time of persons leaving home to reside in the Territory, but this was struck out by the council. An amendment was also offered, "That the people be allowed to decide the question of suffrage at the next election," but was later withdrawn.

The first session gave the right to vote at school elections to "Every inhabitant of twenty-one years, who was a resident in the district three months and who was a taxpayer." This law was amended in 1855 to read, "White American citizen and other white male inhabitant of twenty-one years and none other." In 1858, the school law affecting voters was changed to "Every inhabitant. . . ." and in 1860, another amendment restricted this suffrage to males and in 1863 to white males."[17]

In the 13th legislature, 1866, the question of giving the right of suffrage to half-breeds was again raised, and resulted in a new law by which the "American half-breed who held land under the donation law, and who could read and write and who had adopted the habits of whites," were given the right to vote."[18] The attempt was made to word the law

14House Journal, Wash. Ter., 1854, p. 98.
15Council Journal, Wash. Ter., p. 126 and following.
16Laws of Wash. Ter., 1854-5, p. 7, Second Session.
17Laws of Wash. Ter., 1854-5, 1858, 1866, 1863.
18Laws of Wash. Ter., 1866, p. 24.

"half-breed Indians" and also to include "mulattoes." This failed, but the law excluded "those who had borne arms against the United States of America," thus showing the attitude of the state against the Confederates and the attempt to conform to existing United States conditions. This law was amended Jan. 31, 1867, and reads, "All white American citizens twenty-one years of age, and all half-breeds twenty-one or over, who can read and write and have adopted the habits of whites, and all other white male inhabitants who have declared their intentions to become citizens six months previous to election, and have taken oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the Organic Act of the Territory, who have not borne arms against the United States of America or given aid and comfort to enemies, unless pardoned, and who shall have resided six months in the Territory, and thirty days in the county shall be entitled to vote."[19] The same restrictions held against military and naval men unless a resident for six months or a citizen at time of enlistment.

It was stated on the floor of the House by Edward Eldridge that this law included women.[20] The events of the next few years show that many considered that women were entitled to vote under the law of 1867. The whole matter hinged on "What constitutes an American citizen." Some held that the 14th amendment, which was declared in force July 28, 1868, and which reads, "All persons, born or naturalized. . . . shall be citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside," included women. In 1869, Mrs. Mary Olney Brown of Olympia offered her vote at the polls and it was refused on the ground that she was not an American citizen. When she quoted the 14th amendment, she was told by one of the judges that the laws of Congress did not extend over Washington Territory. This raised a protest, but the vote was still refused. In 1870, Mrs. Brown again offered her vote, which was again refused, while in Grand Mound precinct, twenty-five miles from Olympia, her sister, Mrs. Charlotte Olney French, and several other women voted. The returns from Black River precinct and other places showed the votes of women.

In 1871, Mrs. Abigail Scott Dunniway and Miss Susan B. Anthony visited all towns of importance in Washington and Oregon in the interests of woman suffrage. On Oct. 20, 1871, Miss Anthony spoke before a joint session of the legislature on their invitation.[21] A convention called for Oct. 28, 1871, at Olympia resulted in the First Territorial Woman Suffrage Organization. The difference of opinion was so de-

19Laws of Wash. Ter., 1867, p. 5.
20Stanton, Anthony, Gage, History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. III., p. 781.
21House Journal, Ter. of Wash., pp. 53, 67.

cided that some legislative action was necessary. A bill to allow women the ballot failed of passage and the following law was passed on Nov. 29, 1871:

"Sec. 1. Be it enacted, that hereafter no female shall have the right of ballot at any poll or election precinct in this Territory until the Congress of the United States of American shall, by direct legislation upon the same, declare the same to be the supreme law of the land.

"Sec. II. This act to take effect and be in force from and after its passage."[22]

Yet this same legislature made the school law to read, "Every inhabitant. . . .." In 1873, the school law was amended to, "Every inhabitant who is a taxpayer. . . .," and in 1877, the right of suffrage at school elections was given explicitly to women.

In 1878, when the question of statehood was being discussed, Mrs. A. S. Dunniway was allowed by the legislature to present a petition that the word "male" be omitted from the new state constitution. The petition was denied by a vote of 8 to 7, but a separate article was submitted which declared, "that no person should be denied the right to vote on account of sex." This was lost by a vote of 3 to 1. In 1881, a bill to allow woman suffrage passed the House by a vote of 13 to 11, but failed in the council by a 7 to 5 vote.

On Nov. 23, 1883, an amendment to Sec. 3050, chap. 238, of the Washington Code, made the law read, "All American citizens of twenty-one years, and all American half-breeds. . . ., and all other inhabitants. . . . Sec. 2. Wherever the word 'his' occurs in the chapter aforesaid, it shall be construed to mean 'his' or 'her,' as the case may be."[23]

This house seemed quite favorable to the question of woman suffrage, for on Oct. 8 a resolution had been passed, "That the speaker send congratulations to the American Female Suffrage Association, now in session in Brooklyn, N. Y."[24] The struggle was in the council, which had been thoroughly canvassed, and the promise of every member obtained that they would not speak against the bill, and stillness reigned in the chamber, broken only by the roll-call, when the final vote was taken. It stood 7 to 5 in favor of the measure.[25]

In 1886, the amended law was again amended and is worded, "All American citizens, male and female, all American half-breeds, male and female, who have adopted the habits of whites, and all other inhabitants, male and female. . . ."[26]

22Laws of Wash. Ter., 1871, p. 175.
23Laws of Wash. Ter., 1883, pp. 39-40.
24House Journal, Washington Territory, 1883, p. 41.
25Stanton, Anthony, Gage, Hist. of Woman Suffrage, V. 3, p. 777.
26Laws of Wash. Ter., 1886, p. 113.

Under the law of 1883, women were competent to serve as jurors, but in 1887, in the case of Harland vs. Territory of Washington, Judge Turner of the supreme court ruled "that women had no right to sit on a jury because the law granting rights to women was not given a proper title."[27] Judges Greene and Hoyt held the law valid, but Judge Hoyt was disqualified, as he had been trial judge in the lower court.

The legislature of 1887-88 had been elected by both male and female votes and seemed determined to re-establish the law which the supreme court had overthrown. Numerous bills were introduced in the House. On Jan. 16, 1888, the Committee on Judiciary reported a substitute bill for House Bills Nos. 2, 3, 4, prescribing the qualifications of voters. House Bill No. 23, giving to women the right of voting, and House Bill No. 36, submitting to voters the question of female suffrage. The substitute bill was rejected by the House, and Council Bill No. 44 was passed on Jan. 18, 1888, which again gave to women the ballot.[28]

In this year a convention for framing a new state constitution was to meet, and the opponents of woman suffrage were anxious to have a supreme court ruling on the legality of the new law before the election of delegates to the convention. The vote of Mrs. Nevada Bloomer of Spokane was refused in the spring election, Apr. 3, 1888, suit was brought and the case rushed. On Aug. 14, 1888, Judges Turner and Langford held that the law was invalid and not in accordance with the United States laws, in spite of the fact that the United States in the Organic Act gave to the territorial legislature the right to confer the elective franchise.[29] After a hard fight, the convention agreed to submit to the people an independent clause concerning suffrage of women, but this amendment was lost by a 3 to 1 vote.

The enabling act declared that there should be no distinction in civil or political rights on account of race or color except as to Indians not taxed. The new constitution gave suffrage to all "male persons" and the legislature might provide "that there shall be no denial of the elective franchise at any school election on account of sex." This franchise was granted by the first state legislature. Incompetents were excluded from the privilege and the same regulations held as to military and naval men, absence from state on business, etc.

Section 6 of Article VI. provided for the Australian ballot, which has proved a great step forward in giving the voter a chance to express his own wishes at the polls. Under the old system, "slip tickets" were printed by the party and contained the names of persons standing for the same

[27]Washington Territorial Report, Vol. III., p. 131.
[28]House Journal, Wash. Ter., 1888, p. 167. Laws of Wash. Ter., 1888, p. 93.
[29]Washington Territorial Reports, Vol. III., p. 599.

interests. These slips or tickets were distributed by party or corporation agents at polling places. The voter could have the privilege of scratching; but the party tendency was stronger, however, when a list was in his hands. The absence of secrecy often led to bribery and intimidation. Expenses were paid by assessments on candidates and this was, in many cases, a virtual selling of nominations. The Australian ballot, providing, as it does, for the official printing of ballots and including the names of all candidates, gives the voter a chance to mark for himself, and secretly, the names of all he wishes to vote for. Elections are, therefore, more orderly and more nearly express the desires of the people than in the days of the "boss" or unscrupulous politician.

The compulsory registration law for general, special, and municipal elections in communities of more than 250 inhabitants, which was passed by the first legislature, tended, not to restrict voting, but to protect each citizen in that right. No foreign or undesirable element could be rushed in to overcome the votes of residents. Stringent laws against false and illegal voting had been passed by the different territorial legislatures. A disqualification for two years' clause for illegal voting had existed upon the statutes since 1862. These were re-enacted and strengthened by the legislature of 1890.

The legislature of 1895 submitted to the people an amendment to the constitution somewhat raising the standard of citizenship. It provided "that voters shall be able to read and speak the English language."

In 1897, the following amendment was offered to amend Article VI. of the constitution by adding Section 9: "The elective franchise shall never be denied any person on account of sex, notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the constitution."[30] The amendment was lost at the November, 1898, election, but not so overwhelmingly as in 1889.

In 1901, a slight change was made in the reading of the law, but the qualifications of voters remained unchanged until Nov., 1910, when sections 1 and 2 were stricken from Article VI. of the constitution, and section 1 was made to read: "All persons of the age of twenty-one years or over, possessing the following qualifications shall be entitled to vote: They shall be citizens of the United States; They shall have lived in the state one year, and in the county 90 days and in the city, town, ward, or precinct 30 days immediately preceding the election at which they offer to vote; They shall be able to read and speak the English language; provided, that Indians not taxed shall never be allowed the elective franchise, and provided further, that this amendment shall not affect the rights or franchise of any person who is not a qualified elector of this state; The legislative authority shall

[30]Laws of the State of Washington, 1897, p. 92.

enact laws defining the manner of ascertaining the qualifications of voters as to their ability to read and speak the English language, and providing for punishment of persons voting or registering in violation of the provisions of this section; there shall be no denial of the elective franchise on account of sex."[31] This amendment to the constitution gave to women, for the third time, the right of suffrage.

On March 15, 1907, a direct primary law was passed by the legislature. This put into the hands of the people a great power, a power hitherto held by the party, or by the politician element of the party. Its tendency is to do away with the caucus and convention where, too often, the interests of the people are trampled upon to gratify the personal ambition of a party leader. Any citizen may file his intention to run for any office thirty days before the primary, accompanied by a fee in proportion to the emoluments of the office. Then the majority vote of the people determines the candidates.

In the same year, another forward movement was inaugurated. The recall was obtained for Seattle by popular vote and without expense. Under the charter, the citizens have a right to propose amendments by petition, and this was the first case of "initiative" by the people. The Seattle law was drawn as a measure to amend the length of term of city officials.[32]

The last legislature, 1911, proposed an amendment to Article I. of the constitution couched in these words: "Every elective public officer in the State of Washington, except judges of courts of record, is subject to recall and discharge by the legal voters of the state."[33] This is to come before the qualified voters at the next state election, Nov., 1912. Another amendment to Art. II., Sec. I., is to be decided upon at the same time, that of the "initiative and referendum." Under this law, ten per cent of the people may propose a measure, and the referendum may be ordered on "any act, bill, law, or part thereof, by the legislature, except such as are necessary for immediate preservation of public peace, etc."[34]

These measures are but steps in the right direction and show growth toward a better democracy and a more liberal granting of the right of suffrage.

STELLA E. PEARCE.

[31]Laws of the State of Washington, 1909, p. 26.
[32]Parker, A. M., "How Seattle Got the Recall." Pacific Monthly, Aprn. 1907, pp. 455-460.
[33]Laws of the State of Washington, 1911, p. 504.
[34]Laws of the State of Washington, 1911, p. 136.

EASTWARD EXPANSION OF POPULATION FROM THE PACIFIC SLOPE

Those who have read Theodore Roosevelt's interesting work on the Winning of the West will remember how graphically he tells the story of the early pioneers of the Allegheny Mountains and their brave fight with the western forests as they by incessant toil and daring hardihood carved homes out of that vast land in the Ohio valley. His history begins with the passing of a few rough frontiersmen like Daniel Boone and his associates from the settlements in the highlands of western Virginia over into Kentucky and Tennessee. The first movers were hunters and trappers whose game haunts had been destroyed by the farmers and villagers; who in turn followed them across the Alleghenies. They were looking for new and untouched grounds where the feet of white men had never trodden. This western movement began as early as 1755, while we were still colonies of England, and it is going on at this day, only very much more rapidly than ever before. It required twenty-five years to fill Kentucky with fifty thousand white people; in the past ten years twenty-four hundred thousand people have settled in the Rocky Mountain States, while Oklahoma's population grew from nothing in 1889 to sixteen hundred thousand twenty-one years later.

Many writers before and since Mr. Roosevelt have pointed out that the spreading out of our people over the *Mississippi Valley* has been by a gradual process of filling up one section and then a few movers drifting over into the adjoining section where the land was unoccupied. From the first English settlement at Jamestown in 1607 the settlement of the country went on steadily by the gradual moving of the frontier farther and farther westward. At no time were the new clearings far from the older villages. The country was populated much as the water creeps up a string or cloth by capillary attraction. Thus the westernmost line of settlement stretched along the Appallachian Mountains in 1750; along the Mississippi River by 1840; along the 100th Meridian by 1890.

The 100th meridian is the line of longitude running north and south, passing through the center of North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas and separating Oklahoma from the Panhandle of Texas. West of this line the amount of rainfall in ordinary years is not sufficient for farming purposes by the old methods, and consequently the country is considered best adapted to grazing. East of this meridian and extending to the Atlantic Ocean plenty of rain and fertile soil make the country fairly uniform,

both in the industries pursued and in the density of population. The 100th meridian may, therefore, be considered as a frontier line reached by the flow of people some twenty years ago. Many writers seem to think that since reaching this line dividing the region of plenty of rain from the semi-arid region, the process of settlement has been entirely different. It seems to me, however, to be practically the same, except that not all the country can be settled now; only the fertile valleys where irrigation can be used or where the pasturage can be fenced and water obtained from streams or from wells. Dry farming may, however, make all the land available for agriculture. Political economists have said that Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho and Utah can never be so thickly settled as Iowa and Kentucky. But the contrary is being proven year by year as these great states are filling up. Just as in the early days the farmers followed close on the heels of the hunters and trappers, so now are they following close behind the miners and cattle men.

Moreover, the process is going on just as rapidly as it ever did. In the twenty years from 1890 to 1910 Montana gained in population over 200,000, Colorado nearly 400,000, Wyoming 100,000, Utah 200,000, and the territory of New Mexico about 160,000. Besides, during this time people have spread beyond these frontier states on out into Idaho, Nevada and Arizona. In spite, however, of these Rocky Mountain states being filled up, there is still a region of sparse population lying between the 100th Meridian and the Coast Ranges of Mountains called the Great Plateau Region, which comprises all the states of Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah and Idaho, together with the Eastern part of California, Oregon and Washington.

I wish now to call attention to another process of settlement which was going on at the same time as the gradual spreading westward just described. This other method may be truly called the *colonial* process, as the movers left their former homes and traveled over a vast distance of unpopulated country and founded colonies far removed from older settlements. This colonization reached its high water mark in 1849, when thousands of Americans left the thickly inhabited states of the East, passed over the uninhabited Great Plateau, and settled in the Coastal region of California, there at first to search for gold and minerals, but later to till the soil and build permanent homes. This colony was already quite large and populous back in the time when the frontier line ran along through the center of the first tier of states west of the Mississippi. So far indeed was it from the home states that the people of the East did not see how it could be held in the Union. A large part of the transportation of material and colonists was by way of the Isthmus of Panama. The building of railroads clear through to the Coast afforded an easier and quicker

means of transportation from the East and made it still easier for the Pacific slope to become settled before the intervening space of the Great Plateau.

At about the same time the Willamette Valley and Puget Sound became the seat of a colony of Americans who crossed the Plateau and settled on the Coast. Seattle and Tacoma grew up to be quite respectable cities from the shipping and fishing done on the Pacific. Had nothing unusual happened, or if the Sound slope had not had other resources, it is probable that these cities would have with difficulty recovered from the hard times of the nineties. Nor would they have grown to any conisderable extent until the Plateau country should be well filled up and the Panama canal be completed. The building of the Northern Pacific railway to the Sound made it possible for people to come to the Coast, but the agricultural attractions offered would not have brought very great numbers to raise grain so far from a market.

But in the year 1897 the discovery of gold in Alaska did for the Washington coastal region what the gold discoveries of 1848 had done for California. Thousands of prospectors from all parts of our country and Europe flocked to Seattle to take ship for the Klondike. The fitting out took place here, shipping grew up in a few months to large dimensions, successful miners returned to settle here, where they could watch their interests in the North; many men who had intended going to Alaska lost heart on reaching Puget Sound and stayed right here. Many found it more profitable to outfit the miners than to mine themselves. It is probable that Seattle added fifty thousand people to her population between 1897 and 1900. (I make this statement in the face of the fact that it increased only forty thousand between 1890 and 1900. My explanation is that between 1890 and 1897 Seattle had decreased from a population of 40,000 in 1890 to not more than 30,000 in 1897. I believe this from statements of old settlers who lived here during the entire period, and from a careful comparison with decreases in coastal cities and towns not affected by the gold rush to the Klondike.)

Just as the invigorated commerce brought people to Seattle doubling its population, so did Tacoma revive from her lethargy, so did Everett spring into existence like Minerva from the cleft head of Jupiter, and so awoke Bellingham and Ballard. The rush to the coast stimulated another industry which, in turn, attracted its hundreds of thousands. Lumber and shingle mills sprang up along the Coast, on the lakes and rivers, close to the railroads. Spurs were thrown out from the main lines to tap the richly forested districts of the valleys and foothills, until the entire Pacific slope of the Cascades rang with the sound of the ax, the whistle of the donkey engine and the steady singing of the myriad saws of a thousand busy mills.

So Puget Sound trebled its population between 1900 and 1907, and every visitor began to tell us that the country was becoming over-populated.

But already a new movement had begun. Population flows from the densely settled metropolis to the sparsely settled colony, and heretofore the metropolis or mother country had been in the Eastern part of the United States and the movement had been westward. Now, by the settlement described, the Pacific Coastal region had become the comparatively densely settled metropolis, but the ocean prevented a very large movement westward; so the flow of population turned backward toward the East, into that sparsely settled region lying between the Cascades and the Sierra Nevada Mountains on the West and the 100th Meridian on the East. I propose to exclude from discussion the part California has played in the peopling of the states to the East of her and south of the southern boundary of Oregon. I shall deal with the part the Pacific Coast west of the Cascades has played in the peopling of Eastern Washington, principally, but, incidentally, Eastern Oregon, Idaho and Western Montana. While this does not take us eastward as far as the 100th Meridian, it does take us to the crest of the main ridge of the Rocky Mountains. This gives a sufficiently large field to cover in one paper.

There have been two periods in which Eastern Washington has received a large influx of population from the Pacific Coast countries—the first, the early period before 1870; and the second, the period since 1905. Between 1870 and 1905 there seems to have been no particular flow of people eastward in this state, at least not much greater than the westward movement from Eastern Washington.

A few settlers from across the 100th Meridian had settled in Eastern Washington as early as 1836, missionaries, fur traders, and others. With these we have nothing to do here, for the Whitman massacre of 1847 and the Cayuse Indian War killed off a great many of these, and the r st were ordered to leave by the military officer in charge of the region. By 1850 the region was completely depopulated of white people, and remained so until 1858.*

In this last mentioned year General Clarke rescinded General Wool's order excluding settlers from the country east of the Cascades, and the region began to be peopled. The first settlers came from down the Columbia River, from the settlement west of the Cascades, beginning a movement that was to go on for twelve years uninterruptedly. In fact, the seven thousand people found in Eastern Washington by the census of 1870 practically all came from the Pacific Coast. The Civil War was attracting the attention of the people in the Mississippi Valley, and the westward movement did

*Snowden, IV., page 73.

not begin until that struggle ended. In 1858, at the time when the eastward movement began, there were nine thousand settlers in Washington Territory, west of the Cascades, and in Western Oregon fifty-two thousand. There now began a steady movement up the Columbia River into what are now Klickitat, Benton and Walla Walla counties. Farming in the valleys was carried on, and a few small villages were founded, notably Walla Walla and Touchet. Gold was found at this time first in the Nez Perce Indian country of middle Idaho and later in the Kootenai district of Northern Washington and Idaho. A great stream of migrators from the Pacific counties of Washington, Oregon and California went up the Columbia, provisioned at Walla Walla and scattered out through the mountains. By 1860 Walla Walla had a population of 704, of whom 552 were men; Touchet had 158, of whom only 45 were women; Dry Creek had 80 people. These were all in the southwestern part of the territory near the Columbia. There was a mining population of 501 in the Colville Valley, 82 in the Bitter Root Valley, and 91 men scattered through the Ponderay Mountains (Pendè O'Reille). There were nine white people on the Yakima Indian Reservation.

From 1860 on, the gold rush continued with increased volume, but came almost exclusively from the West, some even from the settlement at the mouth of the Fraser River in Western British Columbia. By 1870 there were nearly seven thousand settlers in Eastern Washington, while in Idaho there were fifteen thousand, of whom over four thousand were Chinese, and in the mountains of Montana about fifteen thousand more. Eastern Oregon had risen from nothing to 13,000. Authorities cited by Snowden in his history of Washington estimate that twenty-five thousand people went up the Columbia River from the West in one year. A good part of these came from California. But when all deductions are made, the Pacific counties of Washington and Oregon contributed a very large share of the settlers in Eastern Washington and Oregon, Idaho and Western Montana.

Beginning with 1870, and gaining in volume rapidly after the Northern Pacific reached Eastern Washington, the flow of people from East of the 100th Meridian must have swamped the early settlers originating on this side of the Cascades. Indeed the next twenty-three years formed a period of great activity in Western Washington, and it is not likely that many people left for east of the mountains. From 1893 to 1897 occurred the period of greatest business depression in our history. Old settlers have informed me that in their opinion thousands of settlers left Western Washington for their old homes in the East. Eastern Washington, having become a farming section, did not suffer so intensely, and consequently did not lose population. I have been able to find no specific evidence that many Pacific

Coast people settled in the Inland Empire country during that period of depression. But the fact that that region gained 58 per cent in population in the decade from 1890 to 1900 without any boom, and that Western Washington gained in the decade only 42 per cent with the Alaska boom and the boom following the building of the Great Northern to the Sound, would tend to indicate that, if there were any infra-state movement at all, it was from the Pacific counties to the inland counties.

From 1897 to 1907 the region West of the Cascades enjoyed an era of exceptional prosperity. During that time the Alaska trade assumed gigantic proportions; the lumber industry attracted thousands from the regions of depleted forests in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota; the Chicago, Milwaukee & Puget Sound Railroad was projected and millions in money were poured into the Puget Sound country for development. These three causes combined to stimulate speculation on a recklessly dangerous scale, which in turn precipitated the boom of 1906. The financial panic of 1907, which was nation-wide, bore down more heavily on us, as it had caught us at the top of a boom.

Taking advantage of the great prosperity and reckless speculation rife in Seattle and other Coast cities, Eastern Wahsington promoters established agencies here in 1905 and 1906 and did a large business. I have talked with several men who bought irrigated land at that time. At first this was largely speculating on the part of the people, but after the crash of 1907 many found it the part of wisdom to move out onto their fruit lands.

In preparing this paper I was unable to find any published material bearing on the period, 1905-1912. I was, therefore, compelled to get my information by letter or by interview. I sent out two hundred letters to mayors, school superintendents and principals, and private citizens, asking for data on the number of people from Western Washington living in their communities. To most of these inquiries I received no answer whatever. Others answered carelessly and at random. A few gave me reliable information. I supplement these data by inquiries among a great many trustworthy real estate firms in Seattle. I interviewed over a hundred men in Seattle, Wenatchee, Ephrata, Spokane, North Yakima and Pasco. What I have written here should be supplemented by investigators working in each community.

As mining was the attraction which lured Westerners eastward in the early period before 1870, so fruitgrowing has been the lure of the period from 1905 on. There are a large number of these projects. I found that the Wenatchee district was especially full of Westerners. At Columbia River station there are twenty-five families settled in one community. This does not form a majority of the people, however, for there are more people from Wenatchee alone than that. But this is a good exam-

ple of Western Washington settlements. Leavenworth contains an even dozen families from this side, 15 per cent of Cashmere's people hail from this side. Wenatchee itself, according to its Chamber of Commerce, has only 350 people from Western Washington, but I believe this estimate is considerably below the real numbers.

Ellensburg has about a hundred families from Western Washington, and North Yakima has many business men from this side. The Knob Hill school district, just outside the city limits of North Yakima, received 20 per cent of its people from the Pacific Coast counties. Atanum, six miles from North Yakima, was founded and is entirely populated by Seattle people.

Another district filled with Westerners is that of which Pasco is the center. Pasco itself has 200 families from Wetsern Washington and Oregon. Prosser has 25 families, and Byron has six families from the Puget Sound country. Burbank is a Seattle settlement, and so also is Hanford. Kennewick has 200 Coast people.

Turning to the north, the Ephrata district is quite largely Western in settlement. One hundred families have gone from Seattle to settle around Adrian in the past three years. The Moses Lake and Moses coulee districts are largely Western owned and will be settled upon in the near future. I personally know eight men who own land in this district and are intending to make it their home as soon as their orchards are bearing. The town of Ephrata, in the center, was settled from Seattle, its lawyers, doctors, bankers, real estate agents and merchants coming from this side of the Cascades.

Arcadia Irrigated Tract, containing 20,000 acres, a few miles north of Spokane, has its quota of Puget Sound people. Thirty-five families from Seattle have elected to make that district their home. A few miles north of the Arcadia Orchard Tract, in the timber belt, several families settled two or three years ago. One Green Lake lumber man with his two sons and families located there last spring.

The Des Chutes river valley in Eastern Oregon has gotten a large number of immigrants from West of the Cascades. Most of these have gone from Portland, but Tacoma has contributed also. The railroad circulars state that a thousand families from West of the Cascades have settled in the valley in the past two years. The Georgetown Gazette News contained a news item to the effect that twenty of her citizens are now at Bend, Oregon. Mrs. M. J. Wall accompanied fourteen families from West Seattle who settled on Carey Act and other irrigated land near Bend.

Though there are other towns with a few Western Washington people in them, I found that these irrigated land communities are by far the most important. I shall pass over the isolated examples of wheat farmers,

the dozen or fewer families in Colfax, Ritzville, Susanville, Oregon, and Moulson, Wash., and note that some 150 Western families got claims in the opening of the Cœur d'Alene Indian Reservation and many families are living on their claims. According to a letter from Mr. Frank Robertson, who got a desirable claim, there are a hundred of such families in and near Plummer, Idaho.

I think it must appear evident from the above facts and figures gathered from most reliable sources that the past five years have seen at least ten thousand people move eastward from West of the Cascades. My report must be very incomplete, and the census figures do not help out very much. The census figures for 1910 on birthplace are not yet available, and even when they are available they will not show in what part of a state the people of Eastern Washington and Idaho are born. For example, the 1900 census shows 9100 persons in Idaho who were born in Oregon and Washington, but does not indicate whether West of the Cascades or East. The same census showed two thousand in Montana born in Oregon and Washington. This shows a considerable eastward movement, but those *born* in the West going east must be only a small proportion of those who go east after having *secured* a residence in the West.

The arrivals at the railroad stations in Spokane and Seattle indicate a much larger number coming direct to the Coast from East of the 100th Meridian than to Spokane. This only shows what the other points mentioned have proven, that people come from the East both by rail and by boat intending to locate here, and that using this as a base thousands yearly spread out into Eastern Washington, Eastern Oregon, Idaho and even Montana.

That this movement is only a part of a general movement of the people round about is clearly disproved by the fact that Seattle contains very few people born in Eastern Washington, or even of persons who had established a residence there. Out of 150 pupils, taken at random at the Lincoln High School, Seattle, only three had ever lived in Eastern Washington. I consider this a good proof of the fact that there has been little or no flow of people from Eastern into Western Washington. Lincoln High School gets her pupils from the University, Green Lake and Fremont districts. These have all grown up in the past ten years; that is, they contain a population that is new to the Coast. In fact only twenty of the 150 pupils quizzed had been born here. The great majority—130 out of 150—were immigrants from other parts of the country. Yet only three came from Eastern Washington. The conclusion is indisputable. The movement of population from Eastern to Western Washington is merely that of a readjusting of settlers, the natural come and go common

to American life. The movement eastward, which even in the case of Wenatchee is large enough to give her population ten per cent of Coast people, is a very different migration.

In conclusion, the evidence deduced points to a still further emigration from the Coast in the future. This does not mean that the Coast is to lose in the total of her population. The information I secured concerning the excess of arrivals over departures shows that Seattle gets the bulk of the immigrants to Washington from the Eastern states. The Coast countries receive the immigrants direct from the East, and at the same time constantly give off a steady stream of settlers for Eastern Washington, Eastern Oregon and even Idaho. With the opening of the Panama Canal these movements will, no doubt, increase in intensity.

GUY VERNON BENNETT.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT HISTORICAL INVESTIGATIONS[1]

Among the contemporary Lennox Papers there exists an early form of Buchanan's "Detectio," called "Probable and Infallyable Conjectures." The title is not inapplicable to the great bulk of Marian literature which has since been produced. Ingenious theories have been propounded only to be overthrown in rapid succession by the emergence of some fresh piece of evidence. It is only with the comparatively recent publication of new documents, since 1889, that opinions and conjectures have begun to be replaced by facts. Bain's Scottish Papers and Hume's Spanish Calendars contain essential information; the Bardon Papers, 1909, summarize the official case of the English government against Mary and throw light upon the ultimate reasons of her unhappy fate; the Lennox Papers, not yet published, have become known through Pollen, Lang and Henderson, and furnish important information on the relations of Mary and Darnley, and the vexed problem of the Casket Letters; while first in merit and importance, filling the greatest gap in the records of Mary's life, is Pollen's "Papal Negotiations with Mary Queen of Scots," 1901, based largely upon the Secret Archives of the Vatican. Great Britain, the Netherlands, France, Spain and Italy have now yielded up the bulk of their stores. The most important documentary gap which still exists is Mary's correspondence with the Cardinal of Lorraine, which has defied all search. The principal works of criticism and interpretation which have accompanied these publications and discoveries are the minutely critical biography by Hay Fleming; Hume's "Love Affairs of Mary Queen of Scots"; the two editions of Lang's "Mystery of Mary Stuart"; and Henderson's "Mary Queen of Scots, her Environment and Tragedy," 1905, with its examination of the latest documents and theories, and its notable critique of Andrew Lang.

It is in connection with Mary's relations with the Papacy, her religious policy,[2] and the Casket Letters, that research has made the greatest progress.

Father Pollen's documents contain, as a whole, convincing evidence that Mary did not, as Froude asserts, enter Scotland with a purpose "fixed as the stars to undo the Reformation." Randolph, the English ambassa-

[1]This article, in slightly condensed form, was read before the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association at Berkeley, California, on November 18, 1910.

[2]An admirable discussion of Mary's personal religious views and the character of her religious policy will be found in the Quarterly Review, Vol. 195, Jan., 1902, pp. 221-244.

dor, expressed her early attitude with perfect correctness when he wrote at the close of 1562: "She knows the necessitie of my sovereigne's friendshipe to be greater than a preste bablinge at an autour; she is not so affectioned to her masse that she wyll leave a kyngdome for yt." The restoration of Scotland to the Roman Obedience was not, in truth, the chief end of her policy. Her primary aim was to secure formal acknowledgment of her rightful claim to the English succession, and she ruled as a Politique rather than as a religious extremist. Papal diplomatists seem never to have been consulted about the assumption of the English arms, and until 1571 Elizabeth was regarded by the Pope as the rightful Queen of England. The Guises and the papal nuncio talk of "concord and union" between Mary and Elizabeth as a "settled thing." Mary's letter to the Duke of Guise—one of the most important new documents—proves clearly that Mary looked forward to an English alliance and was not oppressed by her duty as a Catholic sovereign. No general Catholic League existed in 1565—at least none such is extant in the archives of any European power—and Mary therefore did not sign it. She usually evinces a much greater desire for Roman subsidies than for Roman rites, and her conduct was not pleasing to the Pope. It was the tortuous policy of Elizabeth which ultimately forced her into the arms of the Catholics and brought about her ruin. The transition begins in January, 1563; the first active measures are taken after Moray's downfall in 1565, and the process culminates in Riccio's murder, 1566. But Riccio was not a papal emissary; his name occurs but once in Pollen's Roman documents, when he is barely mentioned as the "Piedmontese secretary of the queen."

The dispensation for the Darnley marriage affords an important illustration both of Mary's ecclesiastical attitude and personal character. Father Pollen, in his "Papal Negotiations" and a subsequent article of April, 1907, in the Scottish Historical Review, dispels all the mysteries heretofore attached to the transaction. Mary married Darnley July 29; the dispensation was issued in September, but ante-dated to the 25th of May. This date is genuine. Mary, therefore, married Darnley before the dispensation had been granted, and allowed her advisers to believe that a "complimentary exhortation to constancy," which happened to arrive from the Pope, was the indispensable document itself. Mary was not without excuses, yet, after every allowance, the fact remains that her action involved a deliberate violation of the canon law and exhibited both disregard for the church and indifference to personal purity. Her want of principle regarding the sacredness of marriage in this instance augurs ill for her constancy in the time of greater temptation soon to come.

A broader knowledge of facts has produced two fundamental changes in the character of Marian literature. First, the question of personal guilt or innocence is relegated to the background as a comparatively negligible factor; emphasis is laid instead upon those political and religious conditions throughout Europe which so largely predetermined her career. Second, her case has been shifted from a legal to a historical basis of treatment.

The late Major Hume regards Mary as representing "in her own person the principle which, if she had succeeded, would have destroyed the Reformation and established the supremacy of Spanish Catholicism in Europe." Personal wickedness would not have altered the result, if her marriage policies had been sucessful. These, therefore, are the key to her career. The "main source of her fascination was her power of sensuous allurement"; her ruin resulted primarily from the "irresistible rush of purely sexual passion" combined with an unquenchable ambition derived from the House of Guise. The crucial point of her career was her first meeting with Darnley, when for the first time amorous passion overrode her judgment and brought about a union, unnecessary and unwise.—It is a pity that the author of the "Love Affairs of Mary Queen of Scots" did not employ the new material produced by Father Pollen.

Henderson's fundamental theory as to Mary's failure is diametrically opposed to Hume's and is essentially the same as Lang's, with personal reasons minimized and with greater rigidity. Discounting the love-element, he considers that policy (i. e., ambition) was not superseded by passion as a motive-force until after Riccio's murder, when political exigencies, combined with an irresistible reaction from hopes irretrievably ruined, threw her into Bothwell's arms. Mary was really the predestined victim of a bitter religious quarrel. The difficulty of her task—in itself all but impossible—was so aggravated by accidental circumstances that hardly a chance was left of escape from signal calamity. "The processes which determined her life towards its tragic close seemed ever to go on with the regularity of clock-work." "Her imperfections and mistakes become dwarfed into insignificance as the determining causes of her failure by reason of the ascendant influence in her life of what may be termed fate." Her early connection with Catholic France, founded and dissolved by circumstances beyond her control; the religious revolution in Scotland, consummated in her absence with English help, which established first a religious, and later a political severance between Mary and her subjects; Elizabeth's inflexible determination never to recognize an heir; the undying hostility of Knox and the extreme Protestants; the divergence of the French and Guisard interests from Mary's, which in 1563 deprived her both of French and Spanish aid, embittered her relations with England and compelled her to turn to Darnley and a Catholic restoration; the fac-

tional intrigues of the Scotch nobility; the colossal folly of her husband—such were some of the inexorable forces which ruined her ecclesiastical policies, disappointed her political ambitions, destroyed her domestic happiness—and left her a prey to recklessness, personal passion and dishonor. It was the permanence given Bothwell's power, rather than any complicity in Darnley's murder, which caused her political ruin.

The sharp distinction which writers are now drawing between the legal and historical case against Mary is thoroughly scientific and tells heavily against her. Her accusers at Westminster, some of whom were themselves guilty, dared not present the entire truth; their case is, therefore, full of inconsistencies and technical deficiencies. Their chronology is impossible; they deliberately suppressed evidence. It was easy for Mary's defenders to answer the legal case; the historical case stands upon a different footing. At Fotheringhay, also, the sweeping character of her denials tends to prove her guilt. Morgan, the central agent of the Babington conspiracy, was no pensioner of hers, she said; yet her private correspondence with Mendoza reveals her activity in his behalf. She hinted that Nau, her secretary, had confessed, through fear, untruths; yet, as we know, though the commissioners did not, she wrote to Mendoza not that he confessed falsely, but that he "had confessed everything."[3]

Mary's love affairs were mainly political. She was not a Messalina. As to the poet Chastelard, she showed an imprudent fondness for his society—nothing more. There is no serious reason to believe that her relations with Riccio were other than official and social—never guilty. Accusation sagainst him date from a time when Darnley and Riccio's enemies were seeking to destroy him. As to Darnley, Lang and Hume believe she loved him; Father Pollen rejects the idea of love at first sight; Henderson rejects it entirely. As to Bothwell, apart from the Casket Letters, there seems no convincing proof that Mary was guilty with him during Darnley's life: sheer hatred of Darnley would account for his murder. As to the Bothwell marriage, Mary is to be condemned with no recommendation to mercy. The best Catholic opinion rejects the validity of his divorce, and the Pope breaks off all negotiations with Mary for two years.

Apart from the direct evidence of the long letter alleged to have been written to Bothwell by Mary at Glasgow—a letter which, if authentic, is final—there may be said to exist a general consensus of opinion that Mary brought Darnley to Edinburgh to facilitate the plans of Bothwell against him. The circumstantial evidence against her is overwhelmingly strong. "It is from Mary's relations to the various parties," writes Hume Brown, the royal historiographer of Scotland, "and from her conduct

[3]Henderson, II., 609-610.

before and after the deed that we are justified in concluding her guilty." The main question seems to be the degree of culpability.

The Casket Letters,[4] with their cry of illicit passion, their instigations to Darnley's murder and Mary's own abduction, were the only direct evidence which the queen's accusers could bring against her. If genuine, no further proofs were needed. In the solution of the vexed question of their authenticity a new era was reached when there appeared, in 1889, Mr. Henderson's "Casket Letters and Mary Queen of Scots." This work proved, beyond a peradventure, that the original French versions of the Letters—authentic, forged, or garbled—were produced at the English conferences of 1568. The following canons of criticism, based mainly on Mr. Henderson's demonstration, are accepted by recent investigators and may be regarded as scientifically established. First, certain copies of Letters III., IV., V., VI. and IX. (the Sonnets) may be called the original French of those letters and treated as such for purposes of discussion. All arguments for forgery, based upon the supposed non-existence of French originals, are therefore obsolete. Second, orthographic tests are not admissible. Father Pollen has demonstrated that copyists of that era made no attempt to preserve accurately the spelling of originals. Third, no arguments *against* forgery can be based on imitations of peculiarities of phrase which an hypothetical forger would be sure to know and reproduce. Many of the phrases of the Letters and Sonnets are literary and conventional. Fourth, with respect to Letters I. and II. (the all-important Glasgow Letter) no valid arguments can be based upon discrepancies between the Scotch and English versions. All discussions based on such discrepancies are obsolete. The English version, defective through extreme haste, omits and mistranslates; the Scotch version can be proved to omit, through sheer inadvertence, unimportant passages and, therefore, no valid argument can be drawn from the absence of passages of greater importance. This is Mr. Lang's contribution to the subject in his "Mystery of Mary Stuart." Cardauns and Philippson had already shown that the English translator possessed both the French and Scotch versions. The best texts are printed by Mr. Lang in his Appendix.

Of late years the appearance of fresh material has rendered wholly untenable the old positions of forgery theorists and immensely strengthened the case for the authenticity of the Letters—particularly of the fatal Glasgow Letter. The chief discoveries are five in number.[5] First, the proof, delivered by Mr. Henderson in 1889, that the original language of

[4]The name is derived from a silver casket which fell into the hands of the Earl of Morton shortly after Mary's capture at Carberry Hill and which contained certain letters and a sonnet-sequence alleged to have been written by Mary to Bothwell.

[5]Compare Henderson, II., 634.

the Letters was French, and that the originals were produced at Westminster and Hampton Court. Second, the publication, also by Mr. Henderson in 1889, of the full text of Morton's sworn Declaration as to the discovery and inspection of the Casket. Its evidential value is two-fold; it names the witnesses, both Catholic and Protestant, Marian and anti-Marian, who were present at the Casket's opening; it limits to the almost impossible period of five days the operations of a potential forger. Most critics, I believe, accept the Declaration as furnishing conclusive proof of the nature of the documents within the Casket; Mr. Lang, declaring that the list of witnesses adds nothing to the credibility of the account per se, dissents. Third, the publication by Major Hume in 1892 in the Spanish Calendar of a dispatch which proved that du Croc, the French ambassador, was given copies of the Letters within a fortnight of the Casket's opening. This overthrew all arguments against their authenticity founded upon the long delay in their production. Fourth, the publication by Major Hume, in the same Calendar, of de Silva's dispatch, showing that Moray, on his return to Scotland, gave him an account of a long letter which was presumably the Glasgow Letter. The cumulative effect of these four discoveries, wrote Mr. Henderson in 1905, was "so to supplement the evidence previously available that they seemed to prove beyond a doubt that the Glasgow Letter was in existence before the Casket was opened on the 21st of June." Except upon the score of one possible interpolation—the notable Crawford Declaration—its authenticity seemed unassailable. At this point Mr. Lang received Father Pollen's transcripts of the Lennox Papers, discovered in them—as he thought—reason for the repudiation of the Casket Letters, and gave to the world in 1901 his "Mystery of Mary Stuart." Into the intricacies of his argument as there produced I cannot enter, nor into the equally complex—but much more cogent—arguments of Mr. Henderson's rejoinder in the Appendix of his "Mary Stuart," 1905. The conclusion of their warfare is to be found in Mr. Lang's articles in the Scottish Historical Review of October, 1907, and Mr. Henderson's reply of January, 1908. Mr. Lang maintained in his "Mary Stuart," and still maintains, on the conjoined evidence of the de Silva-Moray report and a certain document in the Lennox Papers, that there existed a forged letter, antecedent to the Glasgow Letter, but never produced. Reversing his position, however, on the Glasgow Letter itself, he accepts its complete authenticity. It would be rash to assert that this surrender of Mary's most ingenious champion terminates the Casket controversy. Mr. Henderson receives from Mr. Lang only indirect credit for his change of mind and heart. Both accept the genuineness of the Letter, but on different grounds. Mr. Lang, by his continued belief in the forgery which was never produced and by his acceptance of the authenticity of the Glasgow Letter

merely on the score of old evidence maturely considered, may logically reopen the question at a later date. Mr. Henderson, by his recognition of the evidential value of a Lennox Paper which he is the first to print—the *draft* of Crawford's Declaration—may have closed the controversy forever. The existence of the draft in the Lennox Papers, together with the character of erasures and certain alterations, prove, he with apparent justice maintains, that Crawford's Declaration could not have been in existence as early as the Glasgow Letter and that Crawford made use of the Scotch version of this Letter in preparing his draft. There was therefore no interpolation. The production of this fifth and final document in the series of discoveries to date has therefore transformed an old objection into one of the strongest proofs of complete authenticity, and shifted the controversy from the realm of opinion to that of fact.

Mr. Lang in his preface to the revised version of his "Mystery" does not profess to establish the innocence of Queen Mary, but rather "to show that the methods of her accusers were so clumsy and so manifestly perfidious that they all but defeated the object of the prosecution." His book was conceived in a spirit of boundless suspicion and the characters of the principal Scotch noblemen, Lethington especially, were indiscriminately blackened. The forgery of the Casket Letters was vital to his case. He has now been constrained to admit the authenticity of the fatal Glasgow Letter. The ultimate effect of his work tends therefore to turn the immediate investigations of historians away from Mary and towards her *entourage*. Moray must receive his first biography. The life of Lethington must be rewritten. The Lennox Papers should be published by Father Pollen *in extenso*. These three are the greatest needs of present historical writing concerning Mary Queen of Scots.

OLIVER H. RICHARDSON.

DOCUMENTS

[Though the editor now has a wealth of materials for publication in this department of the Washington Historical Quarterly, he always welcomes suggestions or copies of unprinted manuscript documents.]

Secret Mission of Warre and Vavasour

New light is here thrown upon the phase of American history so long epitomized in the phrase: "Fifty-four, Forty or Fight!" Heretofore we have not had access of the British side of that controversy. James K. Polk, on assuming his duties as President, said he was willing to carry out his campaign pledges, but he found negotiations pending on the acceptance of the 49th parallel as a compromise boundary. When the British Minister, Richard Pakenham, declined that offer, President Polk asked Congress for men and money to back up the American claims to the original boundary of "Fifty-four, Forty." Then the British, in turn, offered to compromise on the 49th parallel and the offer was accepted in the Treaty of 1846.

Nearly twenty years later, a retired officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, Dr. W. Fraser Tolmie, wroter a letter to the Oregon Pioneer Association,[1] in which he revealed one reason for the apparent retreat of the British, as follows: "It must be remembered that, between 1834 and 1846, the United Kingdom had—besides several fighting and other troubles in various parts of the world—great embarrassment in regard to Canada, during 1837-38 in a state of open rebellion. What seems more natural in such a case than that apathy as to further acquisitions of territory in North America should have prevailed in British councils?" He further says that the incessant nudging of the Hudson's Bay Company aroused the British government from its apathy on this question. The letters and documents here printed show that secret preparations were being planned by the British for a possible war, a calamity that was happily averted.

These documents are printed from copies obtained through the Provincial Library of British Columbia from the Public Records Office, London, where the originals are filed as "America Domestic Various," Volumes 440, 442, and 457.

[1]Oregon Pioneer Association, Transactions of the Twelfth Annual Re-Union, 1884, pp. 25-37.

Simpson to Pelly

[Hudson's Bay House, 19th March, 1845.]

* * *

Should the recent proceedings in the Congress of the United States on the Oregon question result in hostilities between the two countries, I think it would be absolutely necessary for the protection of the Company's interests in Hudson's Bay that a small military force should be stationed at Red River. Besides this force, I think it would be very desirable that a company of riflemen should be embodied in the country from our native half-caste population, who are admirably adapted for guerilla warfare, being exceedingly active, and by the constant use of the gun from childhood, good marksmen. It would be necessary, however, to forward from Canada along with the troops a sufficient number of officers to command and discipline this corps.

The officers and men should be forwarded from Canada, proceeding by steam to the Sault de Ste. Marie and I would provide craft to convey them from thence to Fort William, where they should arrive in the course of the month of August. From Fort William they would be forwarded in light canoes to Red River, each canoe taking ten men, who would have to work their passage, experienced bowsmen and steersmen being provided in the country.

The Company's agent at Red River could conduct the comissariat department better than strangers.

For the protection of British interests on the Columbia and N. W. Coast I would moreover suggest that two sailing ships of war and two steamers should be stationed there. It would be highly important to get possession of Cape Disappointment, and to erect thereon a strong battery, which would effectually command the mouth of the Columbia River, as unless the southern channel may have been found practicable since I was there, ships entering the River must pass so close under the Cape that shells might be dropped almost with certainty upon their decks from the battery.

The Columbia River, owing to the difficulty of ingress and egress, cannot be depended upon as a harbour; and to the southward there is no good harbour nearer than the Bay of San Francisco in about 40° N. Lat.; but in the Straits of de Fuca, Puget Sound, Hood's Canal, and the Gulf of Georgia there are many excellent harbours of easy access. Although it might be unsafe for sailing ships of war to enter the Columbia River, steamers would find frequent opportunities of going in and out, even in winter, and in summer the weather is so uniformly fine they could make certain of crossing the Bar at almost any time.

There should be a large body of marines attached to the ships of war for boating and land service, and a force of about 2000 men, half-breeds and Indians, might be collected on both sides of the mountain that could on a short notice be rendered disposable for active service in any part of the Oregon territory. It would be necessary, however, that sufficient officers should be at hand to command and discipline these people.

The country is so productive in grain and cattle, and fish are so abundant that such a force as I have pointed out could, with a little preparatory arrangement, be provisioned for twelve months certain.

Should the recent negotiations happily result in a partition of the country, the branch of the Columbia called Lewis River would be a satisfactory boundary as regards British interests. But if that cannot be obtained, the parallel of 49° might be continued as a boundary line from the mountains until it strikes the north branch of the Columbia, which from that point should be the boundary to the sea. If the 49° parallel be adopted as the boundary line the whole way from the mountains to the sea, then it would be indispensable to have Vancouver's Island and the free navigation of the Straits of Fuca secured to us; as in consequence of the pridigious tideway in Johnston's Straits, it would be impossible for trading vessels to reach Frazier's River by the northern channel.

In such partition of the country it would, as a matter of course, be necessary that the Company and British settlers should be secured in their present possessions by a provision in the Treaty; and the free navigation of the Columbia River, as the only practicable communication to the east side of the mountains,—as well as right of way by land (should a practicable route be found) from the Gulf of Georgie to the Columbia should be secured to us. The provision in the Treaty should also secure to us the undisturbed possession of the country now occupied by the Puget Sound Company, the farms on the Cowlitz, in the neighborhood of Vancouver on Multnomah's Island, our water privileges on the Willamette River, our posts on the Columbia and Umpqua Rivers, and all other establishments now occupied by the Company.

It is very desirable that Lord Aberdeen should instruct Mr. Pakenham to communicate with me confidentially on the state of the negotiations respecting the Oregon boundary, in order that I might be prepared to act according to circumstances, without loss of time necessary for communicating with England.

G. SIMPSON,
Hudson's Bay House,
19th March, 1845.

To Sir Hy. Pelly, Bart.,
Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

[Endorsed] *Copy*: Memoranda with reference to the *Oregon Question*, March 29, 1845. Communicated by Sir Geo. Simpson.

Simpson to Ogden

Confidential Encampment, Lac La Pluie, 30 May, 1845.

[To Peter Skeen Ogden]

Dear Sir:

Having submitted, for your private information, a confidential letter, I have under this date addressed to Messrs. Warre and Vavasour, two British officers now accompanying us from Canada on their way to the shores of the Pacific at the outlet of the Columbia river, which fully explains the object of their journey. I have now to request the favor of

your conducting these Gentlemen from Red River to their destination by the Saskatchewan, crossing the Rocky Mountains at the Bon River Pass, and touching en route at the Posts of Fort Ellis, Pelly, Carlton, Pitt, Edmonton, and Colville, and the other establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Columbia River.

Your party will consist of six servants of the Company, besides Messrs. Warre and Vavasour and yourself, and Mr. Lane, as one of the Company's clerk, who you will consider as specially attached to your party, and who is to be employed as I shall hereafter point out. Messrs. Warre and Vavasour are to be provided at Red River with two saddle horses each, and a horse each for the conveyance of their personal luggage, which are to be relieved by fresh horses at each post you may visit; and the necessary number of horses for the remainder of the party will, in like manner, be provided from station to station.

It is desirable that you should take your departure from Red River not later than the 12th proc. so as to reach the Pacific as early as possible, with a view of anticipating Lieut. Fremont of the United States Army, who, I understand, was to have left St. Louis on the 29th of April for the same destination; and by a steady prosecution of the journey, I am in hopes you may reach the Pacific by 12th August.

The first object to be attended to on arrival there is to take possession, on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, of Cape Disappointment, ostensibly with a view to the forming of a trading post and pilot lookout (should it not have been previously occupied on behalf of the United States Gov't, or any of its citizens). In that case you will be pleased to employ Mr. Lane and the servants who accompany you, in the building of a house on the Cape, taking possession by a rough fence, of the headland and the isthmus connecting it with the back country, running a slight fence along the shore of Baker's Bay and across the point to the shore of the ocean, so as to enclose as much of the interior as may be desirable for the exclusion of strangers; likewise enclosing for the same object any high ground in the rear, within common range, which may command the Cape. After the necessary enclosures and buildings shall have been erected, I have to beg that Mr. Lane and two men be left in charge of the Post, to give their attention to the Indian trade being furnished with such provisions and supplies from the depot of Fort Vancouver as may be necessary for the maintenance of the Post.

I have further to beg that you will point out to Messrs. Warre and Vavasour the ship channel from the mouth of the Columbia up to Fort Vancouver, directing their attention to such points on the north shore as may command the channel, likewise to Tongue Point on the south side, and if those gentlemen be of opinion that the occupation thereof might become of importance in a military point of view, you will be pleased to take possession of the headland in behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, and erect a house on such position as those Gentlemen may select as the best site for a Battery, forming a rough fence across the neck of land connecting the promotory with the back country and along the edge of the woods around the promotory, leaving two men there for a few weeks, the more formally to establish our occupancy.

You will distinctly understand, however, that neither Cape Disappointment, Tongue Point, nor any other place is to be taken possession of by the Hudson's Bay Company if already possessed and occupied on behalf of the United States Govt. or its citizens; but after possession has once been taken by you of any of those points, I have to request that such may not be relinquished unless compelled to abandon it by superior force and overt acts of violence on the part of the United States Govt. or its citizens, and in that case either yourself or the Officer for the time being superintending the Company's affairs at Vancouver will be pleased to report the same in writing to the Commander of any of her Majesty's ships with whom you may have an opportunity of communicating, calling upon such Officer for support and protection and handing him the best proofs you can adduce of the nature and extent of the violence that may have been exercised in dispossessing the Company of the occupied points, transmitting to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company a detailed report of all proceedings connected with this subject.

Should Messrs. Warre and Vavasour wish to visit the Willamette Settlement or any other point of the Oregon Territory where we can afford them protection, you will grant the necessary facilities to do so; meeting all their demands in writing on the Hudson's Bay Company's stores and resources, providing them with a passage to the Mountains in spring, with a view to their accompanying the Express to Red River, so as to arrive there early in June, 1848, securing for them the kindest hospitalities and attentions at our different establishments, and consulting their pleasure, comfort, and convenience, in so far as circumstances may permit. I have further to beg that all expenses connected with the conveyance of these Gentlemen to and from the Pacific, and all other outlay that may be incurred connected with their expedition, likewise the wages and provisions of the officer and servants who may be employed in taking possession by occupation of Cape Disappointment, or of any other points that may be determined upon, in accordance with the spirit of the letter referred to, be charged to an account to be in the meantime headed, "Supreme account."

I have to request that this letter be considered strictly confidential, and that the object of Messrs. Warre and Vavasour's journey be not disclosed, but that it be given out that they are known to us only as private travellers for the pleasure of field sports and scientific pursuits.

Herewith I hand you an order on the Company's stores and resources at the different establishments you may visit, in furtherance of the objects of this expedition.

I remain, etc.,
GEORGE SIMPSON.

Peter Skeen Ogden, Esq.,
Chief Factor,
Hudson's Bay Company.

[Endorsed] Lac la Pluie, May 30/45. Sir George Simpson to Mr. Ogden. *Confidential.*

Inclosures in Ld. Metcalfe's Letter to Lord Stanley of July 16th, 1845.

Simpson to Warre and Vavasour

Confidential Encampment Lac la Pluie, May 30th, 1845.

Gentlemen:

Having been confidentially informed by H. M.'s Gov't. that the object of your present journey is to acquire a knowledge of the character and resources of the country situated between the Sault de Ste. Marie and the shores of the Pacific, and of the practicability of forming military stations therein and conveying troops thither, with a view, should it hereafter be necessary, to the occupation thereof for military purposes; and having been requested to afford you every facility for acquiring such knowledge and to furnish you with such information as my experience might suggest, I beg to invite your attention to the following particulars which I think may be useful in enabling you to frame your report on the important objects of yours missions.

You are aware that the United States are forming a cordon of military posts along their northern frontier at Michilimackinac, the Sault de Ste. Marie, La Pointe on the western shore of Lake Superior, Prairie de Chien, Lake St. Peters, and Council Bluffs; and others, I understand, are in progress on the Missouri from that point to the Rocky Mountains, showing the importance they attached to their Indian frontier and acquiring for them an influence among the surrounding Native Tribes, which would be highly important in the event of war; while the trade and settlements along the British frontier are altogether unprotected in that way.

Should H. M.'s Gov't. be desirous of affording a similar protection to the British settlements and interests, and of securing a similar influence over the Indian population in their neighborhood, I should consider that Point Muron, on the Kaministaquoiah River (falling into Lake Superior) above 9 miles above the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post of Fort William, situated in about 48° 30′ N. Lat. and 89° W. Long. and Red River Settlement at the outlet of Red River into Lake Winnipeg in 50° N. Lat. and 97° W. Long. are the only two points where such protection appears, at present, necessary or desirable; and at these places military posts of the Indian Country East of the Rocky Mountains.

As regards the means of transport, the troops, ordnance, military stores, etc., could be conveyed to the Kaministaquoiah River from Canada in steam or sailing vessels. The intercourse with the Sault is now so great that for many years past there has been a constant communication during the season of open water, by steam and sailing vessels to that point; and the Hudson's Bay Company have a sufficient number of decked and open craft on Lake Superior for any amount of transport that might be required as far as Kaministaquoiah River.

The soil and climate of the banks of the Kaninistaquoiah are favorable for the production of various descriptions of grain, potatoes, and garden stuffs, with pasturage for any quantity of cattle and an inexhaustible supply of very fine fish in its immediate vicinity. There is water communication by rivers and lakes of about 700 [to] 800 miles from the Kaministiquoiah to Red River Settlement, through which you are now passing; but owing to the obstructions arising from rapids and falls it is practicable only by

that craft that can be carried over such obstructions, usually known as "portages." Bark canoes, capable of conveying 15 soldiers and about 30 cw.t of luggage and provisions which can be navigated across the portages by 4 men, are the most suitable craft for half that distance, say from the mouth of the Kaministaquoiah to Lac de Pluie; and boats capable of carrying 30 men with their provisions and baggage can be employed from thence to Red River. If the troops were to render the quantum of assistance in working these craft which has frequently been afforded by women in the Hudson's Bay Company's craft, the journey from Lake Superior to Red River might be performed in about 20 days; but if they traveled merely as passengers, the work being performed by the bare number of experienced hands absolutely required in each craft, the journey would occupy 5 or 6 weeks.

With the co-operation of the Hudson's Bay Company, who have always large Depots of provisions and craft on hand, a regiment might thus be conveyed to Red River Settlement in the course of one summer. The best mode, however, of transporting this transport would be through the agency of the Hudson's Bay Company who, I have no doubt, would contract for maintenance and conveyance of the troops with their luggage from Lake Superior to Red River Settlement, after the rate of about 40 shillings pr. man if they were to assist in the transoprt or about 60 shillings pr. man if conveyed as passengers.

Point Muron, the site I would recommend for a military post on the Kaministaquoiah is high ground, overlooking the River, and is not commanded by any other point within reach. The Indian population in that neighborhood is very thin, not exceeding 100 to 150 families, of the Chipeway tribe, mild and docile in their character, and entirely under the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose posts they frequent and from whom they receive all their supplies of British manufactures.

The Hudson's Bay Company have four establishments on the route from Lake Superior to Red River Settlement, namely, Fort William, Lac a la Pluie, Rat Portage, and Fort Alexander, where craft and all necessary supplies or refreshment for the troops could be provided.

At Red River the Hudson's Bay Company have an Agricultural Settlement containing about 5000 inhabitants, consisting principally of their retired Officers and servants and their half-caste families, and a few Indians. The country is beautiful, salubrious, and very productive in wheat, barley, pease, etc., Cattle, sheep, swine, and horses are very abundant, and the fisheries so productive that they would alone afford the inhabitants the means of living if all other resources failed. Salt is procured in the settlement from numerous saline springs in the neighborhood, and maple is so plentiful as to afford large supplies for maple sugar.

The distance from the settlement to York Factory, the Company's principal Depot on the shores of Hudson's Bay in communication with England, is about 700 miles. Lake Winnipeg which is navigable by decked vessels, forms nearly half the distance. From thence to the coast, the navigation by a chain of rivers and lakes is practicable by boats of 3½ to 4 tons burden. The downward voyage with cargo is usually performed in about 16 days; and the upward voyage is from 5 to 6 weeks. By that route, such articles of British produce and manufacture as might be

required in the country can be conveyed at a charge of about 15 per cent on English invoice prices.

The Company have at Red River Settlement two establishments or Forts, walled in and protected by bastions, of sufficient extent to quarter a regiment and from the facility of obtaining labour, and stone, lime, brick, timber and other materials, extensive buildings might be erected there at a very short notice.

Red River Settlement is the most favourable situation in the Indian Territory east of the Rocky Mountains for a military depot, and large levies of troops might be there raised from the half-caste population of the settlement and the neighboring Indian tribes, who, when properly disciplined, would form such a force as would overcome many, and greatly harass all the United States Settlements on the Missouri. A detachment of about 200 regular troops, however, I should consider sufficient to form the nucleus of a force of several thousand natives, who, from their activity and habits of life, are admirably adapted for Guerilla warfare. The result of your own observations on the spot will, I have no doubt, confirm all I have said on this subject; and in order that you may be the better enabled to prepare estimates of the expenses that might be incurred in the formation of the establishment I have suggested, and in the maintenance of troops, I beg to annex a tariff of prices current list of labour and supplies of every description.

From Red River Settlement whither I have now the pleasure of conducting you, a party will be despatched under the charge of Mr. Ogden, an influential officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, to conduct you from thence across land to the Saskatchewan River, and from thence across the Rocky Mountains to Fort Colvile on the Columbia River. Horse traveling is the best and most expeditious mode of conveyance by that route, and the journey may occupy 40 to 50 days, having been performed by me in the year 1841 in 47 days. Mr. Ogden's knowledge and experience will guard against privation, inconvenience, or danger along that route. From Fort Colville, you will be able to reach the Pacific in boats in 5 or 6 days, so that, leaving Red River about the 12 June, you ought, according to the ordinary rate of travelling, to arrive at the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon Territory about the 12th August. From Red River you will find a fine open prairie country, which has been traversed by wheel carriages to the base of the Rocky Mountains to a defile or pass situated in about 51° N. Lat. which, although impracticable for wheel carriages, is by no means difficult on horseback, having been lately passed by a large body of emigrant families from Red River Settlement. The Country through which you will have to travel amounds with buffalo, deer, and game, enabling the Hudson's Bay Company to collect depot of jerked meat, pemmican, and other provisions to any extent at their trading stations of Forts Ellis, Pelly, Carlton, Pitt, and Edmonton, so that troops either cavalry or infantry might by that route be forwarded from Red River to the mouth of the Columbia River.

While in Oregon Territory, I have to suggest your close examination of Cape Disappointment, a headland on the North bank of the Columbia River at its outlet to the Pacific, overlcoking the Ship Channel, and commanding as far as I was able to judge when upon the spot from super-

ficial observation, the navigation of the River, the occupation of which as a fortification would, in my opinion, be of much importance in the event of hostilities between England and the United States. Mr. Ogden has private instructions from me to take possession of that headland on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, ostensibly with a view of forming a trading post and "Pilot's Lookout" thereon; and if, after you have made an accurate survey, it be found that any part of the back country overlooks the Cape, Mr. Ogden has been further instructed to take possession of such commanding positions also. I have therefore to request the favour of your communicating to that gentleman whatever preliminary measures you may consider it desirable should be taken, with a view to the prior occupation of all important positions by the Company in order to be afterwards available by H. M.'s Govt. should such be deemed necessary or expedient.

While in the Oregon country, I beg to suggest your visiting the Willamette Settlement, where there is a large population, consisting of citizens of the United States and British subjects, the retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company,—that you examine into the resources of the country as regards the means of subsistence, and that you notice any situations on the River which may appear to you well adapted for military stations, more especially on the North bank of the Columbia between Fort Vancouver and Cape Disappointment, contiguous to the Ship Channel, which Mr. Ogden will point out to you. It might be well to examine Tongue Point, commanding the Ship Channel on the south side, the occupation of which from its commanding situation might, I think, become an object of importance; and if, after examination you be of the same opinion, Mr. Ogden has been instructed to take formal possession thereof for the Hudson's Bay Company.

You will see from the extent of the Company's agricultural operations and from the large quantities of cattle and sheep at their establishments of Fort Vancouver, the Cowlitz and Puget Sound, that they could provide the means of subsistence for any naval or military force that is likely to be required in that quarter, and other parts West of the Mountains, while the sturgeon, salmon, and other fisheries are inexhaustible.

Mr. Ogden has been instructed to meet all your demands on the Hudson's Bay Company's stores, depots, and resources in furtherance of the objects in view, and to afford you safe escort and means of conveyance back to Red River, where I shall expect to have the pleasure of meeting you in the month of June, 1846, whence a passage will be provided for you to Canada.

In conclusion I beg to suggest that you report from Red River Settlement for the information of H. M.'s Gov't. the result of your observations up to the time of your departure from thence for Oregon; and from Vancouver by one of the Company's vessels that will sail for England in October, you will have an opportunity of communicating such further information as you may have collected up to that period.

Wishing you a safe and prosperous journey,

I have, etc.,

GEORGE SIMPSON.

H. J. Warre
M. Vavasour, Esqre.

Ogden to Warre

Private Fort Vancouver, October 2nd, 1845.

My dear Sir:

Only yesterday I returned from Oregon City, and leave this again for the interior. If nothing unforeseen should happen, trust to have the pleasure of seeing you here by the first week in November.

I regret to say that my purchase of the Cape is now null and void. The man I purchased it from had no right to dispose of it. Two men, Americans, viz: Wheeler and McDaniell, had a prior claim. They, however, proposed to part with it for $900.00, which I refused, having no authority vested in me to negotiate.

At all events, in my opinion, by not appearing over-anxious to obtain it, we can before spring secure it at a lower rate. On this subject more when we meet.

Believe me, &c.,
P. S. OGDEN.

H. I. Warre, Esq.,
&c., &c., &c.

[Endorsed] Received on our return to Fort Vancouver from Pugets Sound and the Straits of Juan de Fuca on the 17th October, 1845.

Warre to Ogden

Confidential Fort Vancouver, November 17th [15?], 1845.

P. S. Ogden, Esq.,

Chief Factor H. B. Company.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated this morning.

I have consulted with Lieut. Vavasour on its purport, and beg to call your attention to the following extract from Sir G. Simpson's letter to us, viz:

"Mr. Ogden has private instructions from me to take possession of that Headland, on behalf of *the Hudson's Bay Company*, ostensibly with a view of forming a 'Trading Post or Pilot's Lookout' thereon; and, if, after you have made an accurate survey, it be found that any part of the back country overlooks the Cape, Mr. Ogden has been further instructed to take possession of such commanding positions also.

"I have therefore, to request the favour of your communicating to that gentleman whatever preliminary measures you may consider it desirable should be taken, with a view to the prior occupancy of all important positions by the Company, in order to be afterwards available by Her Majesty's Government should such be deemed necessary or expedient."

In consequence of the foregoing extract I have to request that we may be informed whether it is the intention of *The Hudson's Bay Company* to occupy Cape Disappointment according to the orders of Sir G. Simpson, as conveyed in his confidential letters to us.

HENRY I. WARRE.

Ogden to Warre

Confidential Fort Vancouver, Nov. 16, 1845.

Dear Sir:

In reply to yours of yesterday, having attentively perused and duly considered the remarks you make, as also the extract from Sir G. Simpson's letter to you, still, I cannot consider myself authorized to purchase the claim on Cape Disappointment, altho most anxious to meet your wishes, and from the following extract from Sir G. Simpson marked "Private and Confidential":

"You will distinctly understand, however, that neither Cape Disappointment, Tongue Point, nor any other place, is to be taken possession of by the Hon'ble H. B. Company, if already possessed or occupied on behalf of the United States Government or its citizens."

The above paragraph binds me down and deprives me of all power or authority, under existing circumstances to act; and should you not consider it of sufficient importance to authorize me to purchase the claims, I cannot, situated as I am, take the responsibility on myself.

I remain, &c.,

P. S. OGDEN.

Henry I. Warre, Esq.,
&c., &c.

[Endorsement] Mr. Ogden thus declining to take possession of Cape Disappointment on behalf of the H. B. Company, we requested he favour us with his reasons for entering into any arrangements in the first instance, with also an American.

Warre to Ogden

Confidential Fort Vancouver, Nov. 19, 1845.

My dear Sir:

Having duly received your confidential letter of yesterday's date, declining to take upon yourself the responsibility of purchasing Cape Disappointment on behalf of the Hon'ble H. B. Company, in consequence of the confidential instructions received by you from Sir G. Simpson, may I beg that you will favour me with a statement of the late transaction regarding the purchase of that headland from Mr. Saules, which I have reported to the higher authorities as in progress.

The necessity and object of my thus troubling you will be apparent under existing circumstances.

I shall also feel obliged if you can inform me, whether in the event of Wheeler and McDaniell not having registered their claim to that headland, according to the laws of Oregon, now in force, your purchase with the man Saules will not hold good.

I consider it very probable that Wheeler or McDaniell may have claims in some other part of the Territory, or even that they may have

"jumped" Mr. Saules' claim. In either of which cases, as far as I understand the laws of Oregon, he (Mr. Saules) would be at liberty to dispose of his own property.

Believe me, &c.,
HENRY I. WARRE.

P. S. Ogden, Esq.

Ogden to Warre

Confidential Fort Vancouver, Nov. 19, 1845.

Dear Sir:

I have to acknowledge receipt of yours of this date, and shall briefly afford you the statement you require. The purchase from James Saules was not considered by the laws of Oregon valid; he, not having any claim or authority to dispose of it, being merely employed in the service of Wheeler and McDaniell as a guardian to their claim on Cape Disappointment.

They had also taken the precaution, at their expense, to erect a building on their claim, thereby rendering their right to it still more valid.

On application to the recorder's office in Oregon City, I was informed that six months were allowed by the Organic Laws to register; and two years if buildings were erected on the claim. This both Wheeler and McDaniell had in part availed themselves of, consequently, my claim, by purchase from J. Saules, was by the authorities declared null and void.

As my duty requires me shortly to absent myself from this place, it would be desirable you decide on the measures you intend to take in regard to the purchase of Cape Disappointment.

I remain, &c.,
P. S. OGDEN.

H. I. Warre, Esq.

Warre to Ogden

Confidential Fort Vancouver, November 19, 1845.

Dear Sir:

As Sir G. Simpson's letter to Mr. Vavasour and myself is rendered nugatory by your interpretation of his instructions to you; and my private instructions not anticipating such an occurrence, I cannot consider myself justified in authorizing you *individually* to purchase Cape Disappointment.

Very truly,
HENRY I. WARRE,
Lt. 14th Reg't.

P. S. Ogden, Esq.,
H. B. Company.

Ogden to Warre

[Endorsement] On the 14th of February, 1846, we received the following letter from Mr. Ogden:

Private and confidential Fort Vancouver, 14th Feb., 1846.

Sir:

Since our late correspondence having mutually reflected that the principal object of your journey to this country had been frustrated by the prior claim of Wheeler and McDaniell to Cape Disappointment; and our respective instructions, not authorizing us to purchase the Cape, and being fully aware of the importance of securing the Cape, for the services of the British Government, I, this day made a purchase of the same for one thousand dollars; surveyor's fees two hundred dollars, forming a total of twelve hundred dollars; and the same has been duly registered in the Oregon Register Office in my name and on my own responsibility.

May I trust the above information meets with your approbation, and that you will on your return to Canada report the same to the High Authorities.

I have, &c.,
P. S. OGDEN.

Henry I. Warre, Esq.

Warre to Ogden

Private Fort Vancouver, Feb. 15th, 1846.

Sir:

I have to acknowledge your note of yesterday's date, informing Mr. Vavasour and myself of your having completed the purchase of Cape Disappointment on your own responsibility, in consequence of your instructions not authorizing you to make the purchase on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company.

I will not fail to report your proceedings on my return to Canada, and I have no doubt from the tenor of Sir G. Simpson's letter to us he will approve of the measure you have taken for the occupation of the Cape by a British subject, which is evidently so desirable.

I have, &c.,
HENRY I. WARRE,
Lt. 14th Reg't.

P. S. Ogden, Esq.,
Chief Factor

Note From Warre

Hon'ble Hudson's Bay Company.

***

Sir G. Simpson, on our return to Red River last June, approved of the purchase of Cape Disappointment, and gave orders for the Post formerly at Fort George on the south bank of the River to be removed to that headland. The expense of the purchase of which would be defrayed in the accounts of the Hudson's Bay Company for the current year.

HENRY I. WARRE,
Lt. 14th Reg't.

Red River, June 16th, 1846.

Report of Lieutenant Vavasour

Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River, Oregon Territory,

1st March, 1846.

Sir:

In continuation of my report dated Red River Settlement, 10 June, 1845, I have the honour to inform you that I left that settlement in company with Lieut. Warre and party on 16th June and after passing through a swampy country on the left bank of the Assiniboine, crossing several small streams, all of which are fordable during the summer months with the exception of the Assiniboine, which was crossed in a boat, swimming the horses. Arrived at Fort Ellice on the 22nd June. Fort Elice, or Beaver Creek, is situated on an elevated plain overlooking the Assiniboine Valley, and consists of a square of poplar pickets of 60 yards width, with 4 square towers, also of poplar. The buildings are of the same material having the intervals between the logs filled with clay. This Post is in a state of decay, and will soon require renewing.

Having procured fresh horses at this Post, passing over an open undulating country studded with small lakes, many of which are salt, and crossing the south branch of the Saskatchewan River (about 300 yards wide) in a batteau, and swimming the horses, we arrived at Fort Carlton (on the 1st of July) situated on the right bank of the north branch of the Saskatchewan River, and about 300 yards from it, on a level plain backed by high ground, within arrow shot of the Fort, which is an irregular hexagon of about 100 feet side, having two small, square towers flanking the gateway toward the River. The houses are similar to those at Fort Ellice as also the pickets, which are 15 feet in height, having new wall pieces mounted on them, and a gallery running round the interior.

On the 3rd of July crossed the north branch of the Saskatchewan River in a batteau, swimming the horses, the river at this point being about 400 yards in width. Passed over a dry, undulating country to Fort Pitt on the left bank of the Saskatchewan River, where we arrived on the 6th July.

Fort Pitt is situated on the left bank of and 350 yards from the River. It consists of a picket enclosure of 150 feet square, with 3 square towers of 14 feet facing the River, each containing a 2 pd. iron gun, and a lookout in rear. The pickets are about 15 feet high with a gallery in the interior to enable the men to fire over them.

Leaving Fort Pitt on the 8th July, crossing the Saskatchewan River in boats and swimming the horses, we proceeded up its right bank through a level, swampy country covered with small poplars, willow and dogwood, to Fort Edmonton, where we arrived on the 12th July, recrossing the river to the left bank where the Fort is placed, on the top of a high hill, but is commanded by a rising ground about 50 yards to the rear. The buildings are of wood, and enclosed by 15 foot pickets in a pentagonal form with 4 small square towers, containing 21 pd. Iron guns.

This is the largest post in the Saskatchewan District, and the last fort we visited on the East side of the Mountains.

The nature and construction of these forts are not calculated to make any defence except against Indians. Fort Carlton and Edmonton

are both commanded in the rear, within musket range, and from the dryness of the climate and nature of the materials they could be easily set on fire, nor have the inhabitants the means of extinguishing it. their sole dependence for water being the river in the vicinity. For this last reason, if blockaded by Indians for any length of time, they would be reduced, there being no wells, and from all the information I can obtain and the appearance of the country, the execution would be very great before water could be procured. Their positions have been chosen for the convenience of obtaining firewood and to trade with the Indians, who generally visit these parts of the country with skins, etc., during the hunting season and not with a view to defence. They have all been removed several times since their first establishment as the fuel in the vicinity grew scarce.

The Indians seldom attack a fort now, having become acustomed to trade, and finding their utility for this purpose they do not wish to destroy them. Leaving Fort Edmonton on the 15th July we crossed the Rocky Mountains about 51° N. Lat. and arrived at Fort Colville on the Columbia river on the 16th August with the loss of 34 horses. From the nature of this journey, the steep and rocky mountain passes, the deep swamps and almost impenetrable forests, it could not be made available for the passage of troops to the Oregon Territory.

Fort Colville is similar in construction to those on the east side of the Rocky Mountains, surrounded by a picket fence of 60 yards wide and having one blockhouse or tower. At the time of my visit the pickets were nearly all blown down. It is on the left bank of the Columbia river, on a rising ground, on a sandy plain surrounded by sand hills, 400 yards from the River bank at the head of an impassable rapid called the Chaudière Falls, around which it is necessary to carry the boats, baggage, &c., making what is usually termed a portage. This Portage is usually made on the left bank but there is no reason why the right should not be equally available. I left Fort Colville on the 19th August, embarked below the Falls in a boat belonging to the H. B. Company expressly adapted to this dangerous river navigation, and descended the rapids.

These boats are built of cedar after the model of a bark canoe, the planks being rivetted to the ribs, having no knees, and the seams filled with pitch and gum. They are propelled with oars by 5 men and steered with a paddle. From Colville we descended the rapid current of the river, the banks of which are bold, and covered with fir trees, which gradually diminished in number as we proceeded downwards; having passed several rapids, at one of which we found it necessary to carry the baggage, and the boat being let down by a line, we reached Okanogan, a small post on the right bank of the river 138 miles from Colville. This post is used as a provision station for the Brigade crossing the Mountains in the spring. It is situated on a salient bend in the river; contains 3 wooden buildings, and is surrounded by a picket fence of 50 feet side.

Below Okanogan all appearance of timber ceases, the country is wild and desolate in the extreme, presenting a boundless extent of barren rocks and sand hills, many of which are crested with Basaltic Rock. About 60 miles below Okanogan, the Piscous River enters the Columbia from the West, taking its rise in the dividing range of mountains, between this point

and Pugets Sound. Across these mountains a route is said to exist, practicable in the summer and autumn seasons by which Pugets Sound may be reached in 7 days.

Between Okanogan and the South branch or Snake River, the Columbia is very rapid, and it is necessary to make several portages, none of which exceed ½ mile in length, and present few difficulties in the accomplisnment. The Eyakama River joins the Columbia form the westward near its junction with the Snake River, by which another route to Pugets Sound is said to exist.

Fort Nez Percés or Walla Walla is 9 miles below the junction of the Snake River 205 miles from Okanogan, on the south bank of the Columbia, and near the Walla Walla, a small fordable river, beyond which there are high perpendicular scarps. The Fort itself is situated on a sandy plain, built of mud formed into bricks and baked in the sun. It is 45 yards square, having a square tower at the N. E. and S. W. angles of two stories and loop-holed; the walls are bullet proof, as also the houses which are also made of mud.

Below this Fort the channel of the Columbia is contracted between nearly perpendicular Basaltic scarps; after which the current continues with varied force to the Dalles where the bed of the river is contracted into a narrow gorge about 39 yards wide, rendering it impassable. Here it is necessary to make a portage of 1 mile. The distance between Walla Walla and the Dalles is 125 miles, the River being occasionally broken by rapids, but having generally a smooth, swift current. The Indians between Okanogan and the Dalles have large bands of horses and herds of cattle. From the Dalles, the river is uninterrupted by rapids to the Cascades (48 miles) where it is necessary to make a portage of nearly 3 miles, the river having apparently forced itself through a range of lofty mountains running parallel to the sea coast and extending from Lat. 49 N. into California. From the Cascades to the Pacific Ocean the river is navigable, although numerous sand bars exist, rendering its navigation rather intricate. Ships of 300 tons are in the habit of navigating its waters to Fort Vancouver, 32 miles from the Cascades and 100 miles from the sea.

Before continuing my report, and with reference to the 3rd paragraph of your orders, I beg to insert an extract of a letter from Sir George Simpson to Lieut. Warre and myself (Sir George Simpson having remained at Red River) which contains all the information or advice I have received from that gentleman.

"While in the Oregon Territory I have to suggest your close examination of Cape Disappointment, a headland on the north bank of the Columbia River at its outlet to the Pacific; overlooking the ship channel and commanding as far as I was able to judge, while on the spot from superficial observation, the navigation of the river, the occupation of which as a fortification would in my opinion be of much importance, in the event of hostilities between England and the Unted States.

"Mr. Ogden has private instructions from me to take possession of that headland, on behalf of the H. B. Co. ostensibly with a view of making a trading post and pilot's lookout thereon, and, if after you have made an accurate survey it be found that any part of the back country overlooks

the Cape, Mr. Ogden has also been instructed to take possession of such commanding positions also. I have therefore to request the favour of your communicating to that gentleman whatever preliminary measures you may consider it advisable to be taken with a view to the prior occupation of all important positions by the company in order to be afterwards available by Her Majesty's Government should such be deemed necessary or expedient.

"While in the Oregon country, I beg to suggest your visiting the Willamette valley, where there is a large population consisting of the citizens of the United States and British subjects, the retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company; that you examine into the resources of the country as regards the means of subsistence and that you notice any situations on the River which may appear to you well adapted for military stations, more especially on the north bank of the Columbia River, between Fort Vancouver and Cape Disappointment contiguous to the ship channel, which Mr. Ogden will point out to you.

"It might be well to examine Tongue Point commanding the ship channel on the south side, the occupation of which from its commanding situation might, I think become an object of importance, and if, after examination, you be of the same opinion, Mr. Ogden has been instructed to take formal possession thereof for the Hudson's Bay Company."

By the foregoing extract you will perceive that the points to which Sir George Simpson has drawn my attention are Cape Disappointment and Tongue Point. The former has been purchased by one of the Hudson's Bay Company for the disposal of Her Majesty's Government; the latter is in the possession of an American citizen.

The banks of the Willamette River, between the Columbia and the Falls are also for the most part occupied by British subjects and American citizens. Fort Vancouver on the north bank of the Columbia River in 45° 36′ N. Lat., and 122° 39′ West Long., 100 miles from the Pacific ocean, at the head of ship navigation, is the principal Post of the Hudson's Bay Company on the west of the Rocky Mountains.

The present fort is placed near the end of a small plain on the bank of the Columbia River, which is nearly inundated by the spring freshets; a ridge of high land on which the old fort was situated confines the plain on the north, in the rear of the present site, over which it has a command.

The establishment contains several large store houses, made of squared timber, small stone powder magazine, and several framed dwelling houses; these are surrounded by a picket fence 15 feet high and 226 yards by 100 yards; at the N. W. angle there is a 3 storied blockhouse, 20 feet square; the two lower stories are loop-holed; the upper is an octagonal cap containing eight 3 pd. iron guns.

The establishment was removed from the rising ground before mentioned in consequence of the inconvenient distance from the River side, for the conveyance of goods and procuring water. The latter defect has been remedied by sinking 2 wells in the present fort, which are supplied by the river, the water filtering through the soil, which is composed of gravel and sand a few feet below the surface. These wells rise and fall with the variations of the river.

The plain is inundated in the same manner, the water rising through the earth and forming a lake before the banks are overflowed.

The simplest method of strengthening this post against sudden attack would be to dig a ditch around it, throwing the earth against the pickets, which should be loop-holed, and a banquette formed in the interior, erecting another small blockhouse at the S. E. angle to flank the south and east sides, and placing small traverses behind the gates.

But in the event of Vancouver being occupied by Troops, I would recommend the position marked on the plan, which is not commanded by any ground in the immediate vicinity, is contiguous to the ship channel, and presents the advantage of never being liable to inundation. It is at present covered with fine pine trees, which could be made available in the construction of barracks, etc., all of which must be built of wood, there being no limestone found on the Columbia nearer than Fort Colville or Vancouver Island in the Straits of Juan de Fuca. The lime used by the Hudson's Bay Company in building their chimnies being made from coral brought from the Sandwich Islands.

For this position I would recommend a picket enclosure, ditched and flanked by two small block houses having a battery facing the river, made of logs, in which 2 18 pd. might be placed to advantage to command the ship channel, the H. B. C. having two at their establishment; the barracks to be built of logs or squared timber, which can be procured of any dimensions in the immediate vicinity.

The H. B. Co. have a saw and grist mill on a small stream 6 miles from Vancouver, a large farm attached, with large bands of horses, herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep.

The Columbia river is about 1 mile wide at Vancouver and runs in a N. W. direction toward the sea; 6 miles below Vancouver the north branch of the Willamette River from the south enters the Columbia; and the south branch, 12 miles farther down, forming a large island which is nearly all inundated at the periods of high water.

The Cowlitz river joins the Columbia from the north about 35 miles from Vancouver. These are the most important tributaries, but there are innumerable small streams running into it from either side. About 90 miles from Vancouver on the south side of the river, is Fort George, formerly called Astoria, which was given up to the American Government at the close of the late war.

At this point there are a few old wooden buildings, but not even surrounded by a picket fence. This establishment is about being abandoned and a new one formed on Cape Disappointment. A range of hills runs on either side of the river, following its general course; receding at some places for 3 or 4 miles from its immediate banks, at others abutting immediately on them, forming perpendicular scarps; where the hills recede from the river the intervening ground is low and marshy and covered with water for two months in the year. There is no road from Vancouver to the sea and all communication is carried on by boats and canoes navigating the river.

The most important points on the Columbia River are Cape Disappointment, Point Adams, and Tongue Point, Cape Disappointment being the extremity of its north and Point Adams that of its south bank.

These two points completely command the entrance of the river which is about 5 miles wide.

Cape Disappointment is a high, bold headland, consisting of two bluffs having perpendicular scarps towards the sea, connected by a narrow ridge running nearly N. and S. of about 30 feet in width on the top, the face being nearly perpendicular, and about 320 feet in height, sloping more gradually to rear, where it is connected with the main land by a neck of 300 yards in width. The sea coast for about ½ a mile presents a scarp of about the same height as the Cape, but is only a narrow ridge with two spurs running at right angles towards Baker's Bay. Those spurs are also narrow and steep; that to the N. W. falling into a deep marsh of about ½ mile in length and ¼ of a mile in width, near the extremity of which there are two headlands jutting into the sea and rising abruptly from it.

The Cape and adjacent country is densely covered with pine trees.

Point Adams on the south shore is a low, sandy point, densely covered with timber, having some small plains in its rear on which there are several families settled.

The entrance to the Columbia river is obstructed by a very dangerous bar, 2 lines of breakers, called the North and South spits, running respectively from Cape Disappointment and Pt. Adams, and also a middle sand between these two points on either side of which run the north and south channels.

The North and one in general use passes close under North Bluff of the Cape, which completely commands it, and also the anchorage in Baker's Bay. The south channel runs along the Clatsop shore, is straight but narrow, and has seldom been attempted. These channels are constantly changing, the difficulties of the Northern have been greatly increased by the formation of a new spit in the channel during the past year, altering all the former bearings and marks for entrance.

Tongue Point on the south shore of the Columbia and 15 miles from its mouth, is a narrow peninsula, ½ a mile in length, containing about 70 acres of land.

The highest point is about 300 feet above the river, from whence it descends in a succession of steps towards the main land and its extremity. The western side is steep in all, and quite perpendicular in many places. On the east side it slopes more gradually, but is very steep, having a small space of open level ground on the summit. The remainder is covered with magnificent fir trees, having a thick underbrush on the east side.

The ship channel at present known passes round this point, whether the river is entered by the north or south channel, for which reason the occupation of the point is evidently so advantageous.

For the occupation of Cape Disappointment, I would recommend 3 batteries of heavy guns, one of 4 guns on the center of the Cape, one of 4 guns on the north bluff towards the middle sand, with a two-storied block-house placed near a small run of water, ditched, with the earth thrown up to form parapet around it, overlooking the landing place in Baker's Bay. The block house to be made of wood, being the only material on the spot, and which can be procured of any dimensions, many of the trees on the Cape measuring 20 feet in circumference.

On Point Adams I would place a battery of 5 guns, having its gorge defended by a blockhouse, similar to that for Cape Disappointment. These points being covered with immense timber, which would require a length of time to remove, open works could not easily be formed, more particularly at the Cape, from the nature of the ground. From the nature of the coast and the continual line of breakers, boats could not land for several miles to the north and south of these points, and boats entering the river by the ships channel on a calm day would be exposed from every part of the Cape, and a few men well disposed could prevent their effecting a landing in Baker's Bay, the only available spot for the purpose near the Cape.

The nearest place on the sea coast, north of Cape Disappointment, for a safe landing in boats is 18 miles distant, in Shoalwater Bay, and the nearest harbour in Chehalis, commonly called Gray's Harbour, which will only admit vessels of light draught, having only 9 feet of water on the bar, is 40 miles distant.

For the occupation of Tongue Point, I would recommend a battery of heavy guns on the West side overlooking the ship channel, with a blockhouse or defensible barrack near its gorge. Tongue Point might easily be cut off from the main shore by a ditch across the narrow neck of land connecting it, which is only 80 yards across.

There are some other points on the north shore apparently offering good positions, such as Chinook point and Point Ellis.

The whole of the north shore from Cape Disappointment is covered with an impenetrable forest, with the exception of Chinook point, which is low and sandy, having a high, bare hill in its rear, at the foot of which there is a small marsh; Point Ellis is steep and rocky. These points might be made available for temporary purposes, but with the occupation of Cape Disappointment and Tongue Point would not, I think, be required. The south shore of the Columbia is also high and covered with forest.

The navigation of the Columbia River is obstructed by numerous sand banks, which are constantly shifting, and vessels are often detained a long time in ascending and descending it, as also in Baker's Bay, waiting for a favourable opportunity of crossing the bar. The Hudson's Bay Company's barque "Vancouver" was one month from Vancouver to Baker's Bay, and 45 days lay in the bay, before an opportunity offered for leaving the River. An American merchant vessel the "Tulon" was also detained for the same period.

The two ships cleared the bar in company during my last visit to Cape Disappointment.

The other posts belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company which I have visited are: the Cowlitz, Nisqually, on Pugets Sound; and Fort Victoria, on Vancouver Island, in the Straits of Juan de Fuca.

Descended the Columbia River for 35 miles (from Vancouver) to the mouth of the Cowlitz, ascending it for 45 miles to the Cowlitz Farm. The Cowlitz is very rapid and shallow, but like all the rivers in this country, subject to sudden rises of the water, caused by the melting of the snow or rain in the mountains. During these floods the river is difficult of ascent the boats being pulled up by the branches, the banks being too thickly wooded to admit of tracking with a line. It, however, is navigable at all seasons for flat-bottomed boats, in which the Hudson's Bay Company transport the produce of the Cowlitz Farm to Fort Vancouver.

The farm establishment is situated on a large plain about 500 yards from the river, and about one mile from the landing place. There is a small settlement of about 19 families, and a Roman Catholic church in the immediate neighborhood. There are large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and bands of horses at this post.

At the Cowlitz we procured horses and rode to Nisqually, a distance of about 60 miles. This route, or portage, as it is usually called, passes through small plains traversing the intervening points of woods, crossing the Quinze, Sous, Vassels, Chute and Nisqually Rivers, all of which are fordable in the summer, but become deep and rapid in the winter and spring.

Nisqually is also an agricultural and sheep farm, the buildings are of wood, situated at the end of a large plain, close to a fine stream of fresh water, and about one mile from the shores of Puget's Sound.

This appears the best place for landing troops in this country, the Straits of Juan de Fuca and Puget's Sound being accessible to vessels of any tonnage and at all seasons, with safe and commodious harbours.

There being large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep at Nisqually Establishment, provisions could easily be procured and troops forwarded from Puget's Sound to the Columbia by the portage and Cowlitz River.

Light baggage, etc., can be forwarded from the head of Puget's Sound making a portage of 5 miles through a thickly wooded country to the head of the Satchat or Black river, which can be descended in flat-bottomed boats or rafts for 30 miles, from whence there is a portage of 15 miles to the Cowlitz farm. This latter portage can be traveled by carts, the road having been opened by the few settlers on the plains. The Satchat and Chehalis rivers are rapid, and the latter is obstructed in one or two places by driftwood.

From the Cowlitz Farm the troops, etc., can descend the river in boats to the Columbia, and proceed to any required position on it by the same means.

At Nisqually I would recommend a blockhouse or defensible guard-house overlooking the Sound, and commanding the road from the landing place, the banks on the shore being too steep to be easily ascended excepting at this point. Any description of work can be thrown up (such as a bastion or redoubt) on the large plain near the Sequalitz stream, with barracks, etc., for the accommodation of Troops.

Fort Victoria is situated on the southern end of Vancouver Island in the small harbor of Commusan, the entrance to which is rather intricate. The Fort is a square enclosure of 100 yards, surrounded by cedar pickets, having 2 octagonal bastions, containing each 6 six-pd. iron guns at the N. E. and S. W. angles. The buildings are made of squared timber, 8 in number, forming three sides of an oblong. This Fort has lately been established. It is badly situated with regard to water and position, which latter has been chosen for its agricultural position only.

About 3 miles distant and nearly connected by a small inlet is the Squimal harbour, which is very commodious and accessible at all times, offering a much better position, and having also the advantage of a supply of water in the vicinity.

This is the best built of the Company's Forts. It requires loop-holing and a platform or gallery to enable men to fire over the pickets, a ditch might be dug around it, but the rock appears on the surface in many places.

There is plenty of timber of every description on Vancouver's Island, as also limestone, which could be transported to Nisqually, or other places in the territory where it may be afterwards deemed necessary to form permanent works, barrackets, etc.

Oregon City is situated on the right bank of the Willamette River, about 21 miles above its junction with the Columbia, and immediately below the Falls, which are about 35 feet in height.

It contains 300 inhabitants, 2 churches of wood; 2 grist mills and 3 saw mills, and about 80 houses, with one exception built of wood; there are two ferries across the River communicating with the Tuality Plains. The country in the immediate vicinity is very high and rocky, forming two scarps, one immediately below the town, the other about 500 yards from the River.

These scarps are very high. The first being of about 100 feet and the second of still greater elevation. The ground falls away toward the Clackamas River, below the junction of which, with the Willamette River, there is a small rapid which is difficult to ascend during high water. The ground on the left bank of the River immediately opposite to Oregon City is very much broken, steep and rocky, and both the banks are covered with a thick forest.

The settlement extends about 60 miles up the River on either bank and contains about 5000 inhabitants, composed of Canadians and Americans. 25 miles from Oregon City there is a Roman Catholic Mission, with several large wooden buildings, 2 churches, dwelling houses, and a nunnery. There is an American Methodist Mission 25 miles higher up the settlement. At both of these Missions ferries are established across the river.

At Oregon City I would recommend 3 block houses, one at the upper end of the town near the Falls, one near the lower and overlooking the road the Champoviac and the upper settlements to be placed on the first scarp, and a third on the higher scarp behind to prevent its being occupied and a command obtained from over the ground below. The mills of Mr. McLoughlin might be loopholed and made defensive, being built of square timber.

I have recommended block houses for the defense of those points of the country at which I think defensive works are being required, as the country is nearly all covered with dense forests at these points. They are easy of construction and the materials are on the spot.

All defensive works must be thrown up by the Troops, there being no available labour in the country. Everything there has a nominal value and there is no circulating medium, wheat being taken as the standard. For these reasons I have not been able to form any estimates of expense.

As all subjects of general information are embodied in the general report of Lieut. Warre and myself addressed to His Lordship, the Secretary of the Colonies, I have not referred to them further than as they are

connected with the descriptions of the Establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company in the country.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servants,

M. VAVASOUR,

Lieut. Royal Engineers.

Col. Holloway,

Com'r Royal Engineers,

Canada.

BOOK REVIEWS

MARCUS WHITMAN, PATHFINDER AND PATRIOT. By Myron Eells. (Seattle, Harriman, 1909, pp. 349, $2.50.)

ACQUISITION OF OREGON AND THE LONG SUPPRESSED EVIDENCE ABOUT MARCUS WHITMAN. By William I. Marshall. (Seattle, Lowman & Hanford, 1911, pp. 450; 263, $10.00.)

WHY OUR FLAG FLOATS OVER OREGON. By Leavitt H. Hallock. (Portland, Me., Smith & Sale, 1911, pp. 77, $1.00.)

WINNING THE OREGON COUNTRY. By John T. Faris. New York, Missionary Education Movement, 1911, pp. 241, $.50.)

No other topic hrelating to the history of the Pacific Northwest has produced so extensive a literature as the question, "Did Marcus Whitman save Oregon?" A bibliography published in this magazine for October, 1908, listed over 500 books and periodical articles dealing with various phases of the Whitman controversy. Since that time two books of first importance have been added to the number, both of them posthumously published in Seattle by the subscriptions of individuals wishing to hear the last word upon the subject. Eells' "Marcus Whitman, Pathfinder and Patriot" sums up the case for the affirmative and gives by all odds the strongest presentation ever made for this side. Marshall's "Acquisition of Oregon" recapitulates the whole controversy, adds new evidence and closes the case for the negative.

Myron Eells approaches the subject from the biographical standpoint. A son of the Reverend Cushing Eells, who was an associate of Whitman in the Oregon Mission, he writes sympathetically as of a family friend. For many years a contestant in the controversy, Mr. Eells collected a large amount of testimony to prove that Whitman rendered important political services. While not entirely overlooking contemporaneous sources, it is upon the testimony thus acquired that the author mainly depends. It is to be noted that out of seventeen witnesses cited to prove that Whiman went East with a national purpose in view, thirteen gave their testimony after 1880, or more than thirty-five years after the event and more than fifteen years after the publication of the story that Whitman saved Oregon.[1]

[1]Eells, Marcus Whitman, pp. 164-175.

As a partizan upon the negative side, Marshall undertakes the more thankless task of removing a popular hero from his pedestal. He early became interested in Whitman when a lecturer upon topics relating to the West he heard and believed the saved-Oregon story. In 1887, he made a careful examination of the extensive correspondence between Whitman and his associates and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He here found in the archives of the American Board, evidence which convinced him that Whitman's journey to the states in 1842-43 was purely on missionary business and that as a man Whitman had been greatly overrated. As a school-principal, Mr. Marshall made an active campaign to secure a revision of those text books on American history that had made incorrect and misleading statements in regard to Whitman. The antagonism which he met in this work from parties personally interested in the glorification of Whitman led him to make a most exhaustive search for all possible evidence tending to refute their claims. The present work, completed shortly before his death in 1906, is the result of this persistent and thorough investigation. Taking the history of Oregon as a starting point, he traces the events leading to its acquisition by the United States. He discusses with great fulness the action of the United States Government relating to Oregon and amasses a surprisingly large amount of evidence to show that there had been no thought of abandoning Oregon to the British and that Whitman could have given no essential information in 1843 not already in the hands of the Government at Washington.

In contrast to the able contributions of Eells and Marshall are two books bearing the imprint of 1911, each lauding Whitman without regard to facts. Mr. Faris, in his absurd "Winning of the Oregon Country," cites the arrival of one hundred and fifty British emigrants as the inciting cause of Whitman's ride, which he alleges to have been made for the sole purpose of saving Oregon to the United States.

Mr. L. H. Hallock's book raises the question, "Why does our flag float over Oregon?" and states in reply: "There is but one answer: Because of Marcus Whitman." One may overlook the panegyrics of former years written when Spalding, Gray and Barrows were still regarded by many as writers of authentic history, but what excuse can be offered, in the light of recent years, for such perversions as these of Hallock and Faris evidently written to find a market among the biased and uninformed?

The publication of the works of Marshall and Eells should go a long way toward finally disposing of the Whitman dispute. It is now possible, at least, to discard much controversial rubbish. Marshall on behalf of the negative admits Whitman's visit to Washington. Eells on the

other hand admits the following mistakes made by Spalding and Gray and repeated by many advocates on the affirmative side[2]:

1. That the taunts and boasts at Fort Walla Walla were the prime cause of Whitman's going East.

2. That these boasts were made because of the announcement of the Red River Immigration.

3. That an express from Canada arrived at that time, for witness the statement of Archibald McKinley, a friend of Whitman, then in charge of Fort Walla Walla, "No taunt, no toast, no York Factory Express, no New Caledonia boats, no factors, no traders, no clerks, no bishops, no priests, no political discussion, no fishery negotiation, ever heard of at Walla Walla October 2, 1842"[3].

4. That Mr. Webster stated to Dr. Whitman that he had about traded off Oregon for the New Foundland fisheries to go into the Ashburton treaty.

5. That Messrs. Applegate and others who had once intended to come to Oregon had given up the idea because of the representations of the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company, but that through Dr. Whitman they were induced to come.

6. That Whitman originated the immigration of 1843.

The admission of these mistakes is the admission of a Whitman legend. Eliminate these fictions from the account of Whitman's ride and little remains of the dramatic story once so widely copied.

We have left unquestioned the fact that Whitman was an enthusiastic and self-denying missionary to the Oregon Indians, that he visited the Atlantic States in the Spring of 1843, "being called thither by the business of the mession,"[4] and that he fell a victim of Indian superstition and treachery in the massacre of November, 1847. While in the East Whitman visited Washington and called upon the Secretary of War. The encouragement of Protestant emigration to Oregon was clearly a part of his missionary program and he endeavored to secure governmental aid in safeguarding the emigrant route. It is contended that the object of the Washington visit was, in part at least, to prevent the government from compromising the American claim to Oregon. This contention it is probably impossible either to prove or disprove. It has been shown, moreover, that Oregon was not in danger, and that whatever might have been its object this visit could not have affected the diplomacy of the Oregon question. A revised estimate of Whitman must rest his title to fame not upon any political services ren-

[2]Eells, Marcus Whitman, p. 233-38.
[3]Eells, Marcus Whitman, p. 237.
[4]Missionary Herald, 44:237, July, 1848.

dered, but upon his work as a pioneer and a missionary. In the history of the Westward Movement, Marcus Whitman deserves an honored place among the sturdy pioneers who advanced the frontier of American civilization across the Rocky Mountains.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

THE NEZ PERCE INDIANS. By Herbert Joseph Spinden. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Volume 2, Part 3. (Lancaster, Pa., New Era Publishing Co., 1908, pp. 165-272, price $.95.)

Mr. Herbert J. Spinden's paper upon the Nez Percé Indians is based upon field work in the Nez Percé region conducted by the author during the summer of 1907 under the direction of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University ond continued in 1908 under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History. The work seems to have been prosecuted in accordance with the most approved scientific methods and the results are written up in plain, straight-forward fashion. The arrangement is logical and the treatment at once full and condensed.. The important topics covered are, habitat and history, archeology, mythology and material culture. Under the latter head is included data upon weaving, houses, furniture, food and its preparation, fishing and hunting, clothing, ornaments, travel and transportation, musical instruments, art, population, sociology, games, medicine and religion. The author has limited himself in the main to brief presentation of facts and has devoted but little space to comparative discussion or conclusions. The principal conclusion drawn is that the culture exhibited by the Nez Percé tribe is purely a transitional culture, and that it has been derived in about equal proportions from the Plains and from the Pacific Coast. Students familiar with the Indian tribes of the North Pacific Coast will question if the author has not overestimated the influence of the Plains Indians.

While the subject has been approached from the archeological and ethnological side, the information should prove of great value to the student of history. But little reliable material relating to the Nez Percés has been hitherto obtainable and the present contribution is an important one. The value of the paper is enhanced by illustrations, foot-notes and a bibliography of sources.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

THE CONKLING-PROSCH FAMILY. By Thomas W. Prosch. (Seattle, Privately printed, 1909, Pp. 141.)

In writing the history of the Conkling-Prosch family, Mr. Thomas W. Prosch has traced the lineage of his father and mother, following the records back to Revolutionary and Colonial days. Although the work is

of a private character and not offered for sale to the public, its appearance should not be overlooked by students of Puget Sound history. It is more than a genealogy, as incidents and facts are narrated having an interest quite apart from their setting in a family history . The volume has been supplied, moreover, to the principal libraries of the region, so that persons wishing to consult it will find it accessible.

The principal service of this book to the student of local history is to be found in the information furnished upon the life of Charles Prosch, the author's father. Mr. Charles Prosch came to the Pacific Coast in 1853. Moving to Steilacoom, on Puget Sound, in 1858, he established the Puget Sound Herald, a pioneer weekly, of which he was editor and owner until 1864. In 1867, he purchased the Pacific Tribune in Olympia, which paper he moved to Tacoma in 1873 and on to Seattle in 1875. After its sale in 1875, Mr. Prosch continued newspaper work until 1889. During much of this time he was connected with the Intelligencer and its successor, the Post-Intelligencer. Mr. Prosch has been intimately associated with the development of the Pacific Northwest and the present volume is a welcome contribution to its history. It contains valuable illustrations, including a view of Steilacoom in 1861, and is well indexed.

CHARLES W. SMITH.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST; ESPECIALLY OF WASHINGTON AND OREGON. By Katherine Berry Judson. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1910, pp. 145.)

MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF ALASKA. By Katherine Berry Judson. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1911, pp. 149.)

Miss Judson has collected these myths and legends from many printed sources. She disclaims originality, but she has rendered a service that will be appreciated by the many who have sought in vain for legends of the far western Indians. There is an agreeable surprise in store for any lover of folk-lore who will read these little books. Both of them are well illustratd and beautifully printed.

UNITED STATES HISTORY FOR SCHOOLS. By Edmond S. Meany. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1912. Pp. 587. $1.00.)

The author is Professor of History in the University of Washington. His book is the first one of its field and scope to emanate from the Pacific Northwest. The text aims at a proper perspective in which the West is not neglected, as has been too often the case in the past. Following the Report of the Committee of Eight of the American Historical Association, the author has kept the European background constantly in mind, as well as the awakening of Latin America and the Orient, and the develop-

ment of the Dominion of Canada. An effort is made to show American history as a part of world history. The spirit of fairness that pervades the book is meeting with approval. The book is abundantly equipped with illustrations, maps, chronological tables, documents and other aids for the use of teachers, pupils, and readers.

CONQUEST OF THE COEUR D'ALENE, SPOKANE AND PALOUSE INDIANS. By B. F. Manring. Colfax, Washington, Privately printed, 1912. Pp. 281.)

The author has lived in the Palouse country for more than thirty years. He has rendered a real service in collecting incidents of persons, places, and events relating to the campaigns of Colonels Steptoe and Wright. The greatest value of the book is found in these collected local incidents. As a complete record of the war, the book is at fault in that it does not account for the events leading up to it. The author has not used such works as the Official Correspondence published by the Territory of Washington, Hazard Stevens' Life of Isaac I. Stevens, or Edmond S. Meany's History of the State of Washington.

THE LAST AMERICAN FRONTIER. By Frederic Logan Paxson. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1910. Pp. 402. $1.50 net.)

Since writing this book the author has been promoted from Junior Professor of American History in the University of Michigan to Professor of American History in the University of Wisconsin, the place left vacant by the resignation of Professor Frederic Jackson Turner. The book takes into account the development of the West along the various trails, the building of railroads, Indian policies, the last chapter being entitled: Letting in the Population. Several of the chapters deal with matters relating to thte Pacific Northwest.

OREGON GEOLOGY. By Thomas Condon. (Portland, The J. K. Gill Company, 1910. Pp. 190+xvii.)

This is a revision of the author's earlier The Two Islands. It is edited by Ellen Condon McCormack. Every lover of the Pacific Northwest should have this book in his library. The story is beautifully and accurately told by Oregon's Grand Old Man of Science after half a century of painstaking studies. The book is well made and sumptuously illustrated. In addition to the revised text of the former work, this edition contains a number of appreciations of the loved author.

THE PATHBREAKERS FROM RIVER TO OCEAN. By Grace Raymond Hebard. (Chicago, The Lakeside Press, 1911. Pp. 263.)

Doctor Hebard is Professor of Political Economy in the State University of Wyoming. She has here told the story of the great, expanding West for children of the sixth and seventh grades of the American schools.

She evidently knows her audience, for she has kept the interest at keen edge and has collected eighty apt illustrations. The book deserves success in its field.

WAR OR PEACE. By Brigadier General Hiram M. Chittenden, U. S. A. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1911. Pp: 273, $1.00 net.)

General Chittenden is well known throughout the West as a capable member of the Engineering Corps of the United States Army. He is at present chairman of the Port Commission of Seattle. He is also well and favorably known as an author through his History of the American Fur Trade and other valuable works. This present work is an essay to which he has brought ripe experience and scholarship. He shows that the world is approaching an end of war. Here is one sentence near the end of the book: "Lapt in universal law the earth will indeed be, but the liberty assured by this very fact will release forces now pent up by fear, distrust, and repressive laws, and the spirit of humanity will come forth into freer and larger expression."

HANDBOOK OF ALASKA. By Major General A. W. Greely, U. S. A. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909. Pp. 280. $2.00 net.)

This well known soldier, explorer, and author has here collected a large amount of useful information about Alaska. There is every evidence that he approached the work with deep appreciation of Alaska's need of such a reliable book at the hands of one competent to speak without prejudice or personal bias.

ANTI-CHINESE RIOTS AT SEATTLE, WN., FEBRUARY 8TH, 1886. By George Kinnear. Seattle, Privately printed, 1911, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the riots. Pp. 17.)

The author was Captain of the Home Guards, hastily organized at the time to maintain law and order. He has done well to put in permanent form this all too brief record of that exciting episode in Seattle's history.

JAMES CLARK STRONG. [Auto-] Biographical Sketch of. (Los Gatos, California, Privately printed, 1910. Pp. 106.)

This little book is in no way pretentious. For the benefit of his family and friends the writer tells in an interesting way his memory of an eventful life. Those memories relate to a meeting with Marcus Whitman, to early days in Oregon and to the fact of his being a member of the first Territorial Legislature of Washington. It is one of those brief personal records that will be prized and used by students of the Northwest when the all too rapidly approaching day arrives, in which it will no longer be possible to talk with the real pioneers face to face.

Other Books Received

ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS. Studies, Military and Diplomatic, 1775-1865. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911. Pp. 424. $2.50 net.)

BEARD, CHARLES A. American Government and Politics. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910. Pp. 772. $2.10 net.)

CANADIAN CLUB OF VANCOUVER. Addresses and Proceedings, (1909-1910. Pp. 118.)

CHAPMAN, JOHN JAY. Learning and Other Essays. (New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1910. Pp. 242. $1.25 net.)

CHIPMAN, GENERAL N. P. The Tragedy of Andersonville. (San Francisco: Published by the Author, 1911. Pp. 511.)

DAGGY, MAYNARD LEE. The Principles of Public Speaking. (Madison, Wis.: Democrat Printing Company, 1909. Pp. 436.)

DURNING-LAWRENCE, SIR EDWARD. Bacon is Shake-Speare. (New York: The John McBride Co., 1910. Pp. 286.)

FITE, EMERSON DAVID. Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910. Pp. 318.)

FITZPATRICK, T. J. Rafinesque; a Sketch of His Life with Bibliography. (Des Moines: The Historical Department of Iowa, 1911. Pp. 239.)

FOWLER, W. WARDE. Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909. Pp. 362. $2.25 net.)

GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS. Letters and Memorials of. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1908. Pp. 298.)

INNES, ARTHUR D. A General Sketch of Political History from the Earliest Times. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911. Pp. 419.)

KNOX, ROBERT. An Historical Relation of Ceylon. (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1911. The Macmillan Company, New York. Pp. 460. $3.25 net.)

MUZZEY, DAVID SAVILLE. An American History. (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1911. Pp. 662.)

National Lumber Manufacturers' Association. National Problems Affecting the Lumber Insdutry. (Chicago: Official Report of Ninth Annual Convention, 1911. Pp. 278.)

Reid, Harvey. Thomas Cox. (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1909. Pp. 257.)

Renouf, V. A. Outlines of General History; edited by William Starr Myers. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909. Pp. 501. $1.30 net.)

Washington, William de Hertburn. Porgress and Prosperity. (New York: The National Educational Publishing Co., 1911. Pp. 887.)

Woodruff, Charles Edward. Expansion of Races. (New York: Rebman Company, 1910. Pp. 495.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association

The ninth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association will be held at Stanford University on April 5 and 6, 1912. At the same time and place there will be held the general session of the Pacific Association of Scientific Societies.

There are six general session papers on the history programme, as follows: Royal Finances in the Time of Henry III., by Professor Henry L. Cannon, Stanford University; The Norman Sheriff and the Local English Courts, by Professor William A. Morris, University of Washington; Robert Grosseteste and the Intellectual Revival in England in the Thirteenth Century, by Professor Louis J. Paetow, University of California; Later Historical Appreciation of Gregory VII., by Rev. Joseph M. Gleason, St. Thomas Aquinas' Church, Palo Alto; Oregon's First Constitution, by Professor Robert C. Clark, University of Oregon; The Virginia Committee of Correspondence from 1759 to 1770, by Professor Elmer I. Miller, Chico State Normal School.

At the annual dinner, Friday evening, April 5, the presidential address will be given by the Vice-President, Professor Rockwell D. Hunt, University of Southern California, and a short address will be given by Judge John E. Richards, San Jose.

At a Teachers' Session two papers will be given: Has Economics a Place in the High School? by Miss Anna G. Fraser, Oakland High School; The Content and Method of High School Economics, by Professor Stuart Daggett, University of California.

Collecting Historic Relics

Several announcements have been made recently of renewed purpose to collect historic relics as well as documents within the State of Washington. Mrs. C. L. Hathaway of the Spokane Public Library is urging efforts to make that institution a repository for as wide a territory as possible. The Native Sons of Washington have avowed this work to be part of their activities. The Washington State Historical Society, with headquarters in Tacoma, is continuing its work in this line. Similar work on a large scale is prospering at the University of Washington. If centralized, there is no doubt the aggregate of such work in this state would compare favorably with that in the older states.

The University of Washington Fifty Years Old

On November 4, 1911, the University of Washington reached its fiftieth birthday. The event was celebrated by an elaborate programme extending over five days.

On Friday evening, November 3, there was held a reception in the Gymnasium for the college men of Washington and delegates to the semi-centennial celebration, and at the same time there was held at the Presidents' Residence a reception for the college women of Washington and visiting women.

Saturday was Alumni and Students' Day. The memorial tablet, prepared by the class of 1911, was unveiled at the old columns saved from the first building of the Territorial University. The address was given by Clarence B. Bagley. The afternoon was given over to a game of football between the University of Washington and the Oregon Agricultural College. In the evening the alumni held a reunion and enjoyed a banquet at the President's Residence.

Devotional exercises were held in the Auditorium on Sunday afternoon. The sermon: The University, a Field and Force in Religious Thought and Action, was delivered by Ozora Stearns Davis, Ph. D., President of the Chicago Theological Seminary. Other clergymen who participated were Rev. Everett M. Hill of the University Methodist Episcopal Church; Rev. E. V. Shayler of St. Mark's Episcopal Church; Rev. Norman B. Harrison of the University Presbyterian Church. The music, of most excellent quality on this and other occasions, was directed by Professor Irving M. Glen and was rendered by the university chorus, orchestra, and solosists, Miss Margaretha Von Osten, soprano; Madame Hesse-Sprotte, contralto; Mr. Festyn Davies, tenor; Professor Glen, baritone.

Monday was University and State Day. There were two programmes, one devoted to the University, the other to the State. Dr. Kendric Charles Babcock, of the office of the United States Commissioner of Education, delivered his address, Fifty Years' Development in Higher Education. The other addresses on the first programme were The Growth of Collegiate Education on the Pacific Coast, by President Prince L. Campbell, University of Oregon; Future Problems in the Development of Collegiate Education on the Pacific Coast, by President James A. MacLane, University of Idaho.

The addresses during the programme devoted to the State were as follows: The University as an Institution of the State, by Honorable M. E. Hay, Governor of Washington; The Service of the University as a Part of the Public School System, by Honorable Henry B. Dewey, Superintendent of Public Instruction; Citizenship, by Honorable Stephen J. Chadwick, Justice of the Supreme Court of Washington.

Tuesday was called Semi-Centennial Day. The two principal addresses were The Development of the State University and the Instruction in the Sciences, by Samuel Avery, Chancellor of the University of Nebraska; State Universities, Present and Future, by James H. Baker, President of the University of Colorado.

Margaret Lenora Denny, of the honored pioneer family of that name, unveiled a bronze tablet to commemorate the semi-centennial of the University. The celebration closed with greetings from the many delegates representing the most important colleges and universities of America, including a few in Europe as well as the Imperial Universities of Japan and China.

The presiding officer of the various meetings was Thomas F. Kane, President of the University of Washington.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

I. Spanish Voyages of Discovery

1. Introductory.
   a. Idea of world's sphereicity.
   b. Need of water route to the Orient.
   c. Voyages of Columbus.
   d. Balboa's discovery of the South Sea.
   e. Magellan's voyage around the globe.
   f. Cortez in Mexico .
   g. Northern voyages inspired by Cortez.
2. Cabrillo and Ferrelo.
   a. First to reach the Northwest, 1543.
3. Vizcaino, Aquilar, and Flores.
   a. Reached 45° north latitude, 1603.
   4. Long neglect of the northern lands.
5. Juan Perez, 1774.
   a. Instructed to explore to 60° north altitude.
   b. Discovered Nootka, which he named San Lorenzo.
   c. Indians had bits of iron and copper.
   d. Named a mountain Santa Rosalia.
   e. Driven south by thirst.
6. Heceta and Quadra, 1775.
   a. First landing on northwest coast.
   b. Indians kill boat's crew.
   c. "Isla de Dolores."
   d. Heceta barely misses discovering the Columbia River.
   e. Quadra's great work in small schooner.
7. The Nootka Controversy.
   a. Martinez seizes British ships, 1789.
   b. Vessels liberated in Mexico.
   c. War threatened by England.

d. President Washington avoids entanglements.
e. Treaty of Madrid, 1790.

8. Elisa, Fidalgo, and Quimper, 1790.
   a. Explorations in Straits of Juan de Fuca.
9. Caamano, and Galliano, 1792.
   a. Explorations.
10. Qaudra and Vancouver meet, 1792.
   a. Attempt to negotiate under treaty of 1790.
   b. "Quadra and Vancouver Island" named.
   c. Further instructions asked from home governments.
11. Nootka episode ended.
   a. Negotiations completed, 1795.
   b. Spaniards recede from northern coasts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—The following books will be found helpful. The list is purposely made brief and most of the books are those easily accessible in the libraries of the Pacific Northwest.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of. Vol. XXVII. (Northwest Coast, Vol. I.), pp. 1-309. Most detailed record in a single book.

BARRINGTON, DAINES. Miscellanies. Pp. 469-534. This relatively rare book contains a translation of the original record of Quadra's Voyage in 1775.

FISKE, JOHN. Discovery of America, Vols. I.-II. Selections from these volumes will be found helpful on the introductory portions of the syllabus.

HAWTHORNE, JULIAN. History of Washington, Vol. I., pp., 75-87; 95-99; 108-120. Compiled from less accessible works.

MANNING, WILLIAM RAY. The Nootka Controversy. In Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1904. Original sources were extensively used by this author.

MEANY, EDMOND S. Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound. Pp. 1-60; 300-334. Part of the original record is here reproduced.

SCHAFER, JOSEPH. A History of the Pacific Northwest. Pp. 1-42. A reliable work in compact form.

SNOWDEN, CLINTON A. History of Washington, Vol. I., pp. 37-81. Extensive work; the cited portion applies to the subject here outlined.

VANCOUVER, GEORGE. A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean and Round the World. Edition of 1801. Vol. II., pp. 331-381. The original work is growing yearly more accessible in the Northwestern libraries. The portion cited contains an account of the negotiations with Quadra at Nootka.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

George Wilkes: History of Oregon, Geographical, and Political. (New York, Colyer, 1845.)

[The reprint of this rare work was begun in the first number of the Washington Historical Quarterly and was continued in portions of varying lengths until Chapter I. of Part II. was begun in Volume II., Number 4, July, 1908. For the sake of librarians and others who have kept the files, the work is here continued.—*Editor.*]

"Hallo, strangers! bound for the encampment?" shouted a voice from the box.

"Yes; are we far away?"

"About three mile. You'll find a nice party there. We're only goin' back to Independence for some articles we forgot, and then we're with you! Good day."

In about an hour we arrived at the rendezvous, or encampment, as our roadside friends had called it. We found there already over three hundred people preparing for one of the most arduous trips ever undertaken in modern times. About fifty wagons were arranged in a huge semicircle, in the center of which little groups were busying themselves in the usual occupations of life, while others were whiling away the hours in idle conversation. Here a smith was tinkering at a rivet, there a female bustled over her domestic pots and pans; in one quarter an artisan was engaged in mending a shaft or resetting a wagon top, while in another, a hardy huntsman was rubbing up his rifle. Numerous herds of cattle browsed about the plain, while the horses reaped their harvest of the generous herbage within the circle or their tether. All the concomitants of civilization were there, yet so intermixed with savage instances, as to startle the observer at the social hybrid. There was something in the unusual scene and its object, that challenged the reflection and led the mind off in its own despite, in search for the causes that induced it. Curiosity asked why a large body of human beings, possesesd of a fair share of the comforts of life, should renounce, of their own accord, all the advantages of society, and submit to a voluntary banishment in a region of which they had only heard by rumor, and that was almost beyond the bounds of civil life? Why, with vast plains before them, offering the most bounteous fertility to the lightest summons of the husbandman; possessing a certain climate, and promising assured comfort; asking no purchase but those of the

ploughshare and the spade, they chose rather a toilsome pilgrimage and the uncertain perils of an almost unknown route, to seek the same advantages in the extremity of the continent? It certainly was not from misanthrophy, for the very manner of the enterprise denied it; they were not flying from the persecutions of intolerance and bigotry; neither were they the victims of ill balanced laws, but they were obeying that restless impulse of ambition which Liberty implants and fosters, and which displays itself in a passion for experiment and adventure. This spirit, which has imparted to us energies that have astonished the world, and still puzzle the monarchies of Europe, has spread its effects from the Atlantic even thus far into the wilderness; it is now directing the movements of this enterprise, and stamps it as the first sign of the enlargement of the boundaries of Freedom to the western ocean. Liberty and enterprise are inseparable qualities, and were it not for the obstacle of inadequate means of travel, no corner of our country would be left unpeopled.

We were received on our entrance with a shout of welcome, and as we drove in a dozen busy hands were instantly lent to assist us in arranging the disposal of our articles. Our wagon was drawn to a proper spot, our horses were watered and staked, Mrs. Robbins was introduced to Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Harris; the little Robbinses received the overtures of the juvenile Bakers and Browns, and Jack followed suit by making most decided advances to a handsome terrier bitch, who was doing the amiable in a series of cavortings that would have been most delightful for any lover of natural philosophy to see.

As this was also my first visit to the rendezvous, I was received in like manner, and some acquaintances whom I had made a few days before in the town of Independence, came forward to welcome me and to show me the ins and outs of the encampment.

"H'ar you, sir! H'ar you!" was the greeting which, accompanied by hearty and earnest grasps of the hand, met me on all sides, and in the course of half an hour I had become acquainted with two thirds of the whole party. Among others, I was introduced to a fat old gentleman in a round jacket and very short pair of corduroys, responding to the name of McFarley, and who, by the way, aspired to the command of the enterprise. Another fat old gentleman named Dumberton was also introduced to me, who was McFarley's rival for the chieftainship. He had the advantage of the latter, however, in a face of aldermanic redness, and likewise in a long-tailed snuff colored coat.

This latter gentleman, immediately on taking my hand, informed me that he came from "East Tennessee, at a place high up on Big Pidgeon, near Kit Bullard's mill"; and then feeling convinced that it was quite un-

necessary to take any further measure to secure my profound respect, threw his head on one side, and waited for his communication to produce its effect.

Dumberton, or the Captain, as he was called, had the advantage of McFarley in several other points. I have already mentioned the superior contrast of the snuff-colored coat with the round jacket, and I might also have alluded to the substantial claims of a pantaloons of the same color in opposition to the meek pretensions of the corduroys; but the great superiority of the Captain laid chiefly in a profuse shock of stiff gray hair, which, being contrasted with the rich crimson of his countenance, and further set off by the white of his neck cloth, rendered his appearance imposing to a degree. Besides, his *home department* had a most superlative curve, while McFarley's, on the other hand, was a sudden projection, which looked as if he had just bolted the hump of a buffalo, and from its absolute abruptness, conveyed no idea of dignity at all. McFarley made up for these natural disadvantages, however, by industry, perseverance, and superior tact, which being opposed to the Captain's natural gifts, about balanced the material of the struggle.

The last of these remarkable gentlemen running one of the sleeves of his snuff-colored coat through my arm, fairly took me prisoner, and turned me off in the direction of a neighboring cluster of trees, for the purpose of securing my influence in his own favor, and in opposition to his opponent. It is impossible to describe McFarley's face, at this attempt of the other to make capital at his expense; suffice it, it outblushed his rival's, and his teeth were set in fierce determination. He was not long at a loss for an expedient to interrupt the Captain's design, for he bribed a boy to tell me "my horse had run a spike in his foot, and that Mr. Robbins wanted to see me at once." This was a great relief to me, as it was a comfort to Mr. McFarley, for fat man the first had just commenced some disparaging reflections upon fat man the second, that I could not have listened to without compromising the neutrality of my position.

I had four men who had linked their interests with mine, and who had put themselves under my special direction. They were still at Independence, and I did not expect them till the afternoon of the following day, when they were to bring along our common team, cattle, wagons and "fixin's." For want, therefore, of anything to do, I lent a hand to Robbins, in getting up his tent, and setting his things to rights. The remainder of the day was spent in making acquaintances, and projecting arrangements for future guidance, a precaution which I considered by no means unnecessary, now that I had discovered that the struggles of selfishness were likely in a greater or less degree, to agitate our little community. I should

not omit to mention here, that I was also introduced this afternoon to Mr. Peter H. Burnet, who was subsequently made captain of the expedition.

After the evening had set in, I laid down in the wagon of an acquaintance, and overcome with fatigue, soon fell asleep. An hour could not have elapsed, however, before I started wide awake. While I lay endeavoring to recover my disturbed repose, I had a chance to hear how my neighbors were disposing of their time. In one direction the sound of a violin rasped the air; in another, a little farther off, the mellow warble of a flute stole softly on the night; while hard by my ear, a harmonious voice poured forth a measure of reproach to the

"*False hearted Jane Louisa.*"

Unable to sleep, and desirous of taking a share in the enjoyment, I arose and went forth, and approaching the tent from which the last pathetic strain had issued, peeped into its centre. It was filled with a motley group, who appeared to have given themselves up to the last degree of merriment. In the rear, on a huge trunk, which was used as a table, sat two bottles, and a corpulent little jug, all of them, doubtless, contributions from different members of the company. On the right hand of this imposing platform, sat McFarley, and on the left, honest John Robbins, with dog Jack between his legs, who was looking, if possible, graver than ever. Behind, and mounted on a high seat, made by a trunk turned endwise, with a flask in his hand, and his hat cocked gaily into an extreme angle, sat the ruling spirit of the party. He was one of those peculiar geniuses whom Nature by the gift of a rich fund of humor and invincible gaiety marks for a practical philanthropist. In his own way, Jim Wayne was the source of more real pleasure and enjoyment, by his inimitable drolleries, during the long journey which followed, than any dozen other causes put together. His songs were sung by the whole camp; his stories were told over and over, for the edification and amusement of every sub-circle, and wherever he went, his presence of itself, appeared to possess galvanic power, which operated immediately in distending the muscles of every face.

"Gentlemen!" said Wayne, at the conclusion of his ditty, with an air of impressive solemnity, "it is my painful duty to communicate to you my apprehension that we have an individual among us of the most suspicious character; an individual who, so far from entering into our proceedings with that degree of hilarity and good-fellowship which are the guarantees of honest intentions, has preserved a *dogged* silence, and has moreover given more than one indication that he is incapable of appreciating the sentiment of our enlightened proceedings; in short, gentlemen, he is a creature, as a man may say, without a soul. Gentlemen," continued

the speaker, after the buzz of surprise and rapid scrutiny which swept the circle from man to man, upon this startling communication, was over, "gentlemen, the nature of our enterprise, the peculiarity of our situation, demands our utmost care, and I appeal to your intelligences, if an individual be found in this company, guilty of the demeanor I have charged him with, shall be not forthwith summoned before this bar, arraigned for examination, and, if necessary, I will add, for punishment?"

"Yes, yes, where is he? Who is he?" shouted a dozen voices, while some of the bronzed faces around frowned stern resentment.

Wayne turned, and after looking fixedly at John Robbins for several moments, as if it pained him to perform his duty, at length broke the silence. "John Robbins, I command you to produce the body of an individual now in your possession, commonly know as dog Jack, that he may answer to the charge now about to be preferred against him."

At this conclusion, the whole company broke into a general peal of laughter, in which John Robbins, who was relieved from his temporary uneasiness, heartily joined.

"McFarley, arraign the culprit," cried Wayne, in a stern tone, which though apparently intended to check the levity of the group, only elicited another burst of merriment.

Jack was lifted on the box by his master, and McFarley, who acted as clerk of the court, made him face the Judge, setting him on his haunches, and holding up his fore paws for the purpose of accomplishing a respectful attitude.

The President then addressed the offender at length, and with much dignity and force. Jack, while this was going on, never once altered the solemnity of his demeanor. The only departure from his usual stoicism, was an occasional glance which he now and then stole over his shoulder at McFarley, who was holding him. At length the President finished his address, and wound up by saying, that "as mercy was the divinest attribute of dogs as well as men, he would forgive him for this first offence, and allow him an opportunity to retrieve his character, by making him an honorary member of the association." Saying which, he baptized the animal on the end of the nose, with some of the contents of the flask in his hand, "to learn him," as he said, "to be a jolly good fellow."

Jack had stood everything quietly, until this, but no sooner did the alcoholic nauseate touch his nostrils, than he gave a sudden twist, followed by a spring which swept off the jug, carried McFarley to the ground, and nearly upset me, as he flashed past where I stood.

A long, loud, and continuous roar followed this conclusion of the prank, and under cover of it, I drew off to my quarters again.

This may be considered as a specimen of the evening enjoyments of the pilgrimage (barring the drinking); and I have been thus particular with the events of the first night, even at the expense of being charged with frivolity, that the reader may have a correct idea of all the variations and phases of the life that is led in the journey over the prairies. Many and many a time, even in the short period I have spent in this region, have I turned back to luxuriate upon the delights of that adventure.

CHAPTER II.

Arrival of My Camp Equipages—Outfit for Emigrants—Grand Council at Elm Grove—Struggle of Ambition—Result of the Council—Regulations for Future Government—Evening Scene in the Prairies.

On the following day my men, wagons, and cattle arrived, and we were all kept pretty busy in making arrangements. McFarley and Dumberton both interrupted me frequently to secure my aid to their intrigues, but I resolutely put them off on the plea of pressing business of my own. A meeting was held in the latter part of the day, which resulted in appointing a committee to return to Independence, and make inquiries of Doctor Whitman, missionary, who had an establishment on the Wallawalla, respecting the practicabilities of the road, and an adjournment was made to the 20th, to Elm Grove, at a little distance off, for the purpose of making final arrangements for the regular government of the expedition. Meanwhile, new recruits kept pouring in, and at the appointed time, nearly all the emigrants were at the designated place.

As all the preparations which the wants of our journey were now complete, I will here furnish a description of them for the benefit of the future emigrant (for whom these notes are specially written), adding to them such other directions as the experience of the actual journey has taught me are useful and necessary.

The proper outfit for emigrants is a matter of first importance, as on it depends not only the ease, the comfort, but even in a great degree, the success of the journey.

The wagons for the trip should be two horse wagons with plain Yankee beds. The running gear should be made of the best materials, and it should also be of the most excellent workmanship. The wagons should have falling tongues, as they have a decided advantage over any other kind for this trip. You frequently are obliged to pass across hollows, having very steep, but short banks, where, it will be perceived, falling tongues are by far the most preferable. The wagon sheets, instead of being painted, should merely be doubled, as painting is apt to make them break, and the

bows should be well made and strong. It is best to have sideboards, and to have the upper edge of the wagon body bevelled outwards, so that the water runing from the sheet may, when it strikes the body, be shed down the side. It is well also to have the bottom of the bed bevelled in the same way, to preclude any possibility of the approach of water to the inside. With your wagon thus prepared, you are as secure as though you were in a house. Tents and wagon sheets are best made of heavy brown cotton drilling, and the latter, if securely fastened, will, like the former, last well all the way. You should take along with you for repairs, a few extra iron bolts, lynch pins, skanes, paint bands for the axles, a cold chisel, a few pounds of assorted wrougt nails, several papers of tacks, a lot of hoop iron, and a punch for making holes in it; a few chisels, a handsaw, a drawing knife, a couple of axes, and indeed a general assortment of tools, not forgetting an auger, as they may all be needed on the way in repairing. All the light tools a man has, if they do not weigh too much, should be brought along. When you reach the mountains, if your wagons are not made of seasoned timber, the tires becomes loose; but this defect is very easily repaired with the assistance of the hoop iron you have brought along. You first take the nails out of the tire, and then drive the hoop iron between it and the felloes; the punch is then inserted to make holes in the sheet iron, and the nails following, and being driven home, all will be found as tight as ever. If your wagons are even ordinarily good this will not happen at all, and you will not perhaps have occasion to make a repair of any consequence during the whole trip. Any vehicle that can perform a journey from Kentucky to Missouri, will stand the trip well. In proof of this, there are many wagons now in use in Oregon which were brought through last year, though they were in quite ordinary condition when they started from the States. Beware of heavy vehicles; they break down your teams, and light ones answer every purpose to much better advantage. The latter will carry every thing you want, and as there are no obstacles on the road in the way of logs or stumps, or even rocks, until you get more than half way (when your load is very much reduced), there is but little danger of accident. You meet with no stumps on the road, until you came to the Burnt river, and there they are very few, and you encounter no rocks until you get among the tail of the Black hills, and these are not formidable in their character, and only last for a short distance. From this point you meet with no more obstructions worth speaking of, until you reach the Great Soda Spring on Bear river, which is situated in the intricacies of the mountain passes. Experience has proved, however, that the difficulties there, are readily overcome. If an individual should have several wagons, some good and some indifferent, he might start with all; the latter would go to the mountains, where the loads being re-

duced one half, their burdens might be transferred entirely to the strong ones, and the former could roll through empty. It is not necessary to bring along extra axle trees, as you seldom break one, though you should take with you a few pieces of well seasoned hickory, to be used for wedges and for other little useful purposes.

TEAMS.—The best teams for this trip are ox-teams. The oxen should be from three to five years old, well set and compactly built, though they should not be too heavy, as their feet will not bear the wear and hardships of the route as well as those of lighter animals. This, though well to be observed as a general rule, is not imperative upon the emigrant, as we had with us in this trip several very large oxen, of seven and eight years of age, which endured the continued labor of the task very well, though not so well as the younger and lighter ones. Young cows make just as good teams as any other, as previous to your reaching Fort Hall on the west of the mountains, it is merely the continuance of travel, and not the hardship of the draught that challenges the physical powers of your cattle. To make cows serve all the purposes of oxen, therefore, you have only to hitch a double number and you will go along as comfortably and as easily, as with the best oxen in the world; besides, cows in addition to furnishing you with a nutritious beverage, night and morning, stand the trip better than the male members of their species. Either of the above, however, are better for the emigrant's purpose than mules. They are, moreover, more easily managed—they are not so subject to be lost or broken down on the way—they cost less at the start, and they are worth four times as much when you arrive at the end of your journey.

Those who come to this country with oxen, will be in love with them long before they get here. Their patient, gentle, persevering good will, are each a claim upon your warm attachment. They will plunge through the heaviest mud, dive into thickets, climb mountains, however great their previous labor, without the slightest refusal, and in their frugal habits are content with the reward of almost any provender—willows alone satisfying their humble appetites for days together.

I would most strongly urge emigrants to bring all the cattle they can procure; and horses among the rest, as with proper care, the latter will stand the journey as well as mules. If a person setting out would invest five hundred dollars in young heifers, and drive them here, they would be worth five thousand dollars to him on his arrival; and by pursuing the enterprise in the way of stock raising, if he did not wish to sell, he could in a short time make a fortune. Milch cows are exceedingly useful on the road, as they give an abundance of milk all the way, with the exception of the latter part of it, where, in consequence of the frequent interruptions of the previously rich herbage, the supply somewhat decreases. This edible

is of great value to the traveller, as when thickened, it effects a great saving of flour, and its rich and delicious qualities afford a fine and nourishing food for your children. Its other advantage is, that the giver of it gathers it from day to day, and relieves you of any trouble of carriage, by bearing it herself.

We found that yearlings, nay even suckling calves, stood the trip well, but the objection to the latter is, that they get all the milk of the mother.

PROVISIONS.—As this is the most important branch of preparation, it is necessary that we should bestow a careful attention upon it. Every one thinks he must eat, and so settled is the notion, that it would amount to little short of a separation of soul and body to be persuaded to the contrary.

One hundred and fifty pounds of flour, and fifty pounds of bacon, must be allowed to each person, and this must be taken as a fundamental rule—a *protective provision* as the lawyers say, which must not be overlooked or departed from. Besides the above, as much rice, corn meal, parched corn meal, and raw corn, peas, dried fruit, sugar, tea, coffee, and such necessary articles of food, as you can find room for, should by all means be brought along. Flour and parched corn meal will keep sweet the whole way, but corn meal only lasts to the mountains. The parched meal is most excellent in making soup—a few beef cattle or fat calves should be taken to kill on the way, as before you fall in with the buffalo, you will need fresh meat. Peas will be found to ve very useful also, and your dried fruits by being brought out occasionally, will supply with their delicacy and nourishing qualities, many of the deprivations of absence from a settled home.

The loading, in short, should consist mostly of provisions. Emigrants should not burden themselves with much furniture or many beds. It is folly to lug these articles two thousand miles over mountains and rivers, through a mere prejudice of habit and notion. A few light trunks should be brought to pack clothes in, as they will be found to be better than any other article for the same purpose; boxes are too heavy in an expedition where every pound tells in every hour of draught.

(To be continued)

The Washington Historical Quarterly

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REMINISCENCES OF A PIONEER OF THE TERRITORY OF WASHINGTON

In the summer of 1849 President Taylor appointed John P. Gaines Governor of Oregon Territory, to succeed Joseph Lane, Oregon's first Governor, appointed the year before by President Polk. At the same time Taylor appointed Edward Hamilton Territorial Secretary, and William Strong one of the three Judges of the District Court for the Territory. Simultaneously order was issued for the United States store ship Supply—one of the Government's smallest sail vessels—to be fitted up with a cabin amidships, and staterooms around the cabin, and the officers named with their families were invited to take passage on her for the Pacific. Governor Gaines and family, General Hamilton and family and Judge Strong and family (of which I was constituted one member) left the Brooklyn Navy Yard in December, 1849, on this small vessel. Stop was made at Rio Janeiro, Brazil, where we took the yellow fever aboard, Governor Gaines losing two daughters and Judge Strong one son in consequence. Somewhat on account of the fever the vessel next put in at St. Catherine's, six hundred miles south of Rio, where we made a prolonged stay. In rounding Cape Horn we were driven down to the sixteenth degree of south latitude. Our next call was at Valparaiso, Chile, where I had my first experience with earthquakes, and from there we came straight to San Francisco. There we were all transferred to the United States sloop of war Falmouth, Captain Pettigrew, who had received orders to take us to Astoria, where we landed on the 13th day of August, 1850.

Great was the disappointment of the officials on finding that the little river steamer Multnomah, the only steam vessel on the Columbia at that time, and which they had been told would be at Astoria to take them up the river, was laid up for repairs, and that Captain Hoyt, its owner, had gone to San Francisco for new machinery. How to get to

Oregon City, our place of destination, became a serious problem. The day after our landing an employee of the Hudson Bay Company came over from Scarborough Point, and on learning the situation suggested that word be sent to Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Factor and Governor of the Hudson Bay Company, whose headquarters were at Fort Vancouver, asking him to send a batteau for us; otherwise we would probably be detained three weeks at Astoria. Governor Gaines at once wrote to Governor Ogden, and the company man referred to got an Indian to take the letter to him. It was a new and interesting sight to us to see that Indian start off in his "ikt man kanim" for a trip of about one hundred miles up one of the grandest rivers in the world, and how anxiously we waited to know the result, frequently walking up to Tongue Point and scanning the large bay above. The people of Astoria, few then in number, were very kind, and told us that that would be the quickest way of getting up the river, as the mail steamer from San Francisco to Portland would not be along for almost a month. They knew Governor Ogden, and were sure he would do the best he could for us, as he was the man who, of his own motion, ransomed and rescued the white prisoners in the hands of the Indians at the time of the Whitman massacre.

In a few days a large batteau arrived, bringing a cordial welcome from Ogden. It did not take long to load such of our belongings as were necessary into that boat, and as soon as the tide began flooding the next day we started. The first night brought us to Cathlamet, where we were welcomed by Mr. James Birnie, a retired factor of the Hudson Bay Company, who, with his family, had lived there many years. Mrs. Birnie gave the ladies every attention, and Mr. Birnie took care of the men. Judge Strong was greatly pleased with this locality, and afterwards settled there. It was in Oregon then. The next day we went on, landing when necessary, spreading our blankets on the ground at night, until in a few days we arrived at Fort Vancouver. How different such a trip from one on the same river today. How few of the inhabitants of the State of Washington have had such an experience?

Judge Strong's wife and infant child and I remained at Fort Vancouver, but after lightening the batteau as much as possible the Governor and Secretary, with their families, and Judge Strong, were taken to Oregon City, the capital. The Judge soon returned, and I went there in a canoe. There were no houses on the east side of the river at Portland, and very few on the west. Between Portland and Oregon City was a sandbar, on which at that time there was so little water that large canoes had to be poled over it. It was for this reason that the batteau was made as light as possible at Fort Vancouver.

While in Oregon City I learned that about three months prior to that time five Indian chiefs had been hanged there as instigators of the massacre of Dr. Marcus Whitman and others at the Whitman mission. I was deeply interested in learning all I could in relation to this bloody affair, I having gone to school with the two Nez Perce Indian boys, John I-ce and Richard Tac-i-tu-i-tis, whom Dr. Whitman brought with him from Oregon, and left at Rushville, N. Y. (his native place and where I then lived) during the winter of 1835-'36, when he went east and married Narcissa Prentice. I also listened to a talk he gave in the old Rushville church in the spring of 1843, when he was again there to visit his mother, at which time I became so interested in the Indians and in the climate of Oregon that I wanted to go there with him, but he said he wanted married men, and, as I lacked two months of being seventeen years old, I did not fill that requirement. He comforted me, however, by saying, "the Indians need good doctors, and when you have finished your education, and studied medicine, we will be glad to have you come."

In 1850 all but a very few white Americans in Oregon were residents of Willamette Valley. During the two following years the number north of the Columbia was greatly increased, probably multiplied by three. By that time I had been over the land sufficiently to convince me that there was plenty of room on that side for a great Territory or State, and that in due time there would be one, of which I hoped and expected to become a citizen, and why I did not will be told later on.

In the winter of 1850-'51 Judge Strong had a house (and I afterwards built one) at Cathlamet. The people of Cathlamet a year or so later were so many and so ambitious that they schemed to secure a road to Puget Sound. They interested the people of Elohamon Valley, which lay back of Cathlamet and had its only outlet thru that town, in the idea, and arrangements were finally made to survey the line for a road as far as Boisfort Prairie. We engaged a young man to go with the party as surveyor. He had come to Cathlamet, and they were nearly all ready to start, when unfortunately he cut his foot so severely with the hatchet while sharpening a stake as to prevent his going. I had to go in his place. I was accompanied by Mr. Dray, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Stilwell, Newell Brewer, all owners of property in the Elohamon Valley, and two Indians. We had a pretty hard time of it, however, as it took much longer than we expected, and the packer was careless, and lost or wasted not only our provisions, but our ammunition as well, so we were without food for five days. When we got to Boisfort Prairie, we were given a sumptuous meal at the home of Fred A. Clarke, it being prepared by Mrs. Clarke, who, now of Puyallup, is one of the few survivors at this time of those long

gone-by days. There was one creek that took us a long time to find a way across. It had cut a channel nearly or quite 200 feet wide, and of great depth, with almost perpendicular sides. Fifteen feet down was a stratum of sea shells twelve feet thick, the same on both sides, showing conclusively that the shore of the great Pacific Ocean was once there. Above this stratum of shells was about fifteen feet of rich soil. We found the route impracticable, as road building was then understood. What has become of my field notes of that survey I do not know. The entire expense of this survery was borne by the parties whose property would have been benefited had the road been built.

In 1850 there were very few white men north of the Columbia River from its mouth to Vancouver and beyond, except those connected with the Hudson Bay Company. In the latter part of 1851 and the early part of 1852 they came in considerable numbers, and there were so many people in the fall of the latter year that a convention was called and held at Monticello, near the mouth of the Cowlitz River, which petitioned Congress to divide Oregon Territory and create the Territory of Columbia in that part north of the river. The petitioners were somewhat surprised to learn that Congress not only refused to name the new Territory Columbia, but insisted upon naming it Washington, to which the convention members and other persons chiefly concerned were obliged to submit. It was only about fifteen months from the date of holding that convention that the new Territory desired was in complete running order, with full list of officials, Legislature and courts. I was a member of the first House of Representatives, from Pacific County. The Legislature met at Olympia Feb. 27th, 1854, but I was not sworn in until April 14th. (See page 97 of Journal.)

Another person, whose name I cannot now recall, and myself surveyed the east part of Mrs. Esther Shorts' land claim into town lots, blocks and streets, and the first Legislative Assembly, in March, 1854, passed an act naming this land, so surveyed by us, "Columbia City," and made it the county seat of Clarke County. (See page 475, Statutes First Legislative Assembly.) Columbia City is the Vancouver of the present day.

When Judge Strong found that the meager salary paid a United States Judge would not support his family, tho in New York, where we were from, it would have been more than ample—the costs of living being very much greater on the Pacific Coast—he tendered his resignation, and as soon as his successor—who was an unmarried man—arrived, and was sworn in, he commenced the practice of his profession. He spent the long remainder of his days in Oregon, a prominent member of the bar and an honored citizen of the State.

In the latter part of 1852 First Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant came to Fort Vancouver with a part of his regiment, the Fourth Infantry, in which he rendered special services as quartermaster. He lived in the barracks with the other officers. He never had a house to himself, contrary to what I have seen stated. While he was at Fort Vancouver, he and Judge Strong became warm friends, and he would sometimes get a leave of absence, and spend the time with the judge in Cathlamet. While at Vancouver Grant and other officers joined in planting a large field of potatoes. The river rose and covered the vines so long and so deep that the potatoes were spoiled, and never dug. He also, in 1853, equipped and supplied the railroad exploration and survey parties of the Government in Washington under Captain George B. McClellan and Governor I. I. Stevens. He was promoted to a captaincy, and after about a year's stay at Vancouver, took command of his company at a post in California, from which he resigned his commission in 1854, going to Missouri and later to Illinois and engaging in the pursuits of civil life until the outbreak of the war in 1861, when he reentered the army.

October 11th, 1854, John S. Clendenin, United States Attorney for the Territory of Washington, appointed and commissioned me assistant United States Attorney, and placed me in charge of all his business. He then left for the Eastern States, and never returned. The next year I was elected Prosecuting Attorney for the First Judicial District of Washington Territory.

When the Indian war broke out, in 1855, I joined a military company, and served until discharged. My brother William also enlisted, and was made captain of a company of mounted riflemen.

In the spring of 1856 the judges concluded that on account of the war they would hold no courts until the next fall, so the farmers might put in their crops, repair damages, etc. In the summer of that year, John D. Biles, who was a member of the House in the first Legislature at the time I was, and who was then clerk of the United States District Court at Vancouver, and myself, taking advantage of the court vacation, left for the States, expecting to return together, prior to the resumption of work by the judges. He returned, but I did not, for this reason: I had an aged mother, who was much opposed to my going back, and when it came near to the time for me to start became seriously ill, and asked me to promise her that I would not return as long as she lived, which I did. She then began to improve, and lived nearly five years, dying about two months before the breaking out of the civil war, during which time I had gone into business and married. When the war began I immediately raised a company, was elected its captain, and we were mustered into service in the

Twenty-First Regiment of New York Volunteer Infantry on the 7th day of May, 1861. I served as captain for six months, and was then promoted to lieutenant colonel and colonel of the Thirty-Eighth Regiment, New York Volunteer Infantry, and afterwards to brigadier general by brevet. I was wounded twice in battle, the last time by a conical ball passing entirely thru my body, tearing out my right hip joint, and making me a cripple for life, stiffening the hip, and shortening the leg three and a half inches.

When at Fort Vancouver, W. T., I became personally well acquainted with Captain Rufus Ingalls, who was quartermaster of the post there, and after I was wounded I was taken to Fortress Monroe, and placed in the Hygeia Hospital. The next morning I was greatly surprised to be called upon by Major General Rufus Ingalls, Quartermaster General of the Army of the Potomac. He was exceedingly kind, gave me every attention possible, and was of great assistance to me.

My brother, John C. Strong, came to Fortress Monroe, and took me home to Buffalo, N. Y., on an army litter. After I had recovered from my wounds so as to be able to get around on crutches, President Lincoln commissioned me a colonel in the Veteran Reserve Corps, which commission I prize very highly, as it bears his autograph. I was then assigned to the Fifteenth Regiment, Veteran Reserve Corps, and sent to command the post at Chicago, which included Camp Douglas, thus relieving General Ammon from command of the post, and Colonel C. V. Deland, of the First Michigan Sharpshooters, who were guarding the prisoners, and who immediately thereafter went to the front. When the number of prisoners became so great that one Veteran Reserve Corps Regiment, every man of which was wounded, was not considered sufficient to guard them, Brigadier General Sweet, who was also colonel of the Eighth Regiment, Veteran Reserve Corps, came, bringing a battery of artillery, which organizations, with my regiment, gave him ample force to take care of the prisoners. General Sweet ranked me, which, of course, gave him command of the post.

I was ordered to report to General George G. Meade, in Philadelphia, who would instruct me how to close up camps, and furnish me with the proper papers. This I did, and I was kept in service, and sent to close up the different camps thruout the country, and was not mustered out until June 30, 1866. I then went to my home in Buffalo, N. Y., and practised law for a while. Later I was appointed United States Assessor of Internal Revenue, and afterwards United States Circuit Court Commissioner.

My wounds so shattered my nervous system that I suffered greatly in cold weather, and in January, 1896, I brought my family to Los Gatos, Santa Clara County, California, where we resided on a ranch in the foothills of the Santa Cruz Mountains at the southerly edge of the beautiful Santa Clara Valley, until June, 1911, when we removed to Oakland, Alameda County. I am today, May 6th, 1912, 86 years of age.

Remaining in the East was a great disappointment to me, as all my interests then were in the new Territory of Washington, where I intended to make my home, but I considered my duty to my aged mother paramount to all others.

JAMES C. STRONG.

A HISTORY OF THE RAILROADS IN WASHINGTON

On September 2, 1876, the people of the Eastern states were given the following directions on how to get to Washington Territory by Elwood Evans, in an address at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia:

"The following hints will give the necessary information to tourists or immigrants: Parties from the East can leave the Central Pacific Railroad at Kelton, 700 miles east of San Francisco, and by stage reach Walla Walla; from thence they can readily go to any part of the Territory. Still it is more comfortable, quite as cheap, and about as expeditious, to go through to San Francisco. Arrived there, those bound for Puget Sound will find almost daily opportunity, by sailing vessels and trimonthly steamers of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, to reach any port on the Sound. Those bound for Eastern Washington (and if expeditious travel be an object, to any part of the Territory) will be best accommodated by the steamers of the Oregon Steamship Company, which make weekly trips from San Francisco to Portland. Arrived at Portland, steamers leave daily for the upper Columbia, by which all parts of Eastern Washington are reached. There is also daily communication, Sunday excepted, by steamers to Kalama, and thence by the Northern Pacific Railroad to Puget Sound."

Compare these directions with the following statement taken from a railroad folder published in May, 1912:

"Looking at a map of the United States, you will find that there are six transcontinental railroad lines entering the Pacific Northwest."

In these quotations are summed up the entire span of railroad history in Washington, a bracket which includes forty years within its scope.

The course of railroading in Washington drops naturally into three parts: First, the period of discussion about a transcontinental road lasting from 1834 to 1870; second, the period of the construction of the first road, 1870 to 1883, when the last spike was driven; third, the period of development from 1883 to the present time, during which a cobweb of steel has been spun about Washington.

To Dr. Samuel B. Barlow of Granville, Mass., belongs the credit of first proposing a road to the Pacific, although one year before some slight mention had been made of such a plan in a Michigan paper called the "Emigrant." Dr. Barlow, in an article published in the Intelligencer, a weekly of Westport, Mass., suggested a government road from New

York to the Pacific Ocean near the mouth of the Columbia River. The cost of such an undertaking was estimated at $30,000,000, and it was supposed that a train could traverse the 3,000 miles and return, traveling at a speed of ten miles an hour, in thirty days.

"What a glorious undertaking for the United States!" exclaimed Dr. Barlow. "The greatest public work, I mean the greatest in its ends and utilities, that mortal man has ever yet accomplished."

Dr. Parker, with whom Whitman had made his first journey to the West, backed up Barlow's dream with the assertion that there were no greater difficulties in the way of building such a road than there had been in constructing the line from Boston to Albany.

The initial active attempt to carry out the construction of a transcontinental road was made in 1845 by Asa Whitney, a New York merchant, and he was so militant in advocating the plan that he later became known as the "Father of the Pacific Railroad." Whitney conducted a campaign among the members of the United States Congress and by other means for the building of a road connecting Lake Michigan with the mouth of the Columbia by a line that should cross Wisconsin and Minnesota to the Missouri and thence follow the route of Lewis and Clark to the ocean.

As a result of this work of Whitney, Congress, in 1853, appropriated $150,000 for the exploration of four routes. Isaac I. Stevens, first governor of the Territory of Washington, was placed in charge of the northern route survey, and assisting him were W. T. Gardiner, George B. McClellan, afterwards commander of the Army of the Potomac; Johnson K. Duncan, Cuvier Grover, A. J. Donelson, John Mullan, Jr., army officers and engineers, together with George F. Suckley and J. G. Cooper, surgeons and naturalists; John Evans, geologist; J. M. Stanley, artist; G. W. Stevens and A. Remenyi, astronomers; A. W. Tinkham and F. W. Lander, civil engineers, and John Lambert, draughtsman. The survey was to start from both ends of the route and McClellan was placed in charge of the western part. He arrived with his party in San Francisco in 1853 and proceeded to explore the Cascades for passes leading to Puget Sound. Stevens proceeded from the headwaters of the Mississippi westward to the Sound.

The survey was completed and the route found entirely feasible and practicable and the route finally followed adopted the line of Stevens' exploration. Nothing was done about a northern route for some years, and meanwhile the Territory of Washington was established under Stevens as governor.

At his suggestion, the Washington legislature of 1857 incorporated the Northern Pacific Railroad and named as incorporators Stevens, Senator Ramsey of Minnesota, Gen. James Shields of Minnesota, Judge William A. Strong, Col. William Cock, Elwood Evans, A. A. Denny and W. S. Ladd of Portland. The road was capitalized at $15,000,000, and the route was to be from Nebraska west across Washington by the Bitter Root Valley, and across the Cœur d'Alene Mountains to the Columbia. One branch was to follow the Columbia and another to cross the Cascades to the Sound, the two branches to be connected by a line from the Sound to the Columbia. In 1860, the legislature amended the act to extend the time of beginning construction to July 4, 1863, and of completion to July 4, 1870. No capital was raised, however, and no railroad was built under the original or amended act.

Congress on February 5, 1855, appropriated $30,000 for the construction of a military road from the great falls of the Missouri to Fort Walla Walla, and this was looked upon as the forerunner of a Pacific railway, but it was not until nine years later that a Northern railroad became an actual matter of business for Congress.

The State of Washington must look to the Columbia River for the first railroad within its borders. Here, around the cascades of the river, a portage tramway of wood was built by the Cascade Railroad Company, which was incorporated by an act of the legislature, January, 1858. Previous to this there had been a wooden track laid around the rapids for the use of the military department, and over this many immigrants with their goods had been transported by animal power. These wooden rails were, within a short time, covered with iron, and the road was operated by steam. Another road was built to connect The Dalles with Celilo.

The incorporators of this Cascade Railroad Company were B. B. Bishop, William H. Fauntleroy, George W. Murray and their associates. In 1860, the Washington legislature chartered the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, with a capital of $1,000,000, whose incorporators were J. C. Ainsworth, Daniel Bradford, R. R. Thompson, J. S. Ruckle and their associates, and this company took over the Cascade Company.

The second railroad in Washington was Dr. Baker's famous Rawhide Road. A company, known as the Walla Walla Railroad Company, had been chartered in January, 1862, to operate a railroad from Walla Walla to the Columbia at Wallula to be completed by November, 1865. The time was extended two years in 1864, but the company was never a success and finally failed outright, giving way in 1868 to the Walla Walla & Columbia River Railroad. Dr. Dorsey S. Baker was the builder, using his own resources chiefly. A survey of the thirty miles was completed in

1871, and in 1872 construction started, being completed one year later. The first ten miles were built entirely of fir stringers, 4x6, laid on crossties, the wood coming from mills Dr. Baker had built for the purpose. This wood wore out even while transporting construction materials, and the rails at the curves were then protected with strap iron. The straps turned up at the ends under the pressure of the wheels and the trains had to stop while they were pounded down again. The road was the joke of Walla Walla and the people, when they heard of a delay, declared "that the coyotes had eaten out a section of the doctor's track." There was a story current that the rails were covered with rawhide, which gave it the name of the Rawhide Road.

During the third year of construction the rails reached Whitman's mission at Waiilatpu. The doctor at this time purchased rails weighing 26 pounds to the yard, and these were laid down. A little eight-ton engine did the hauling, and the road was completed in October, 1872. For a long time after the road was built freight was carried only on flat cars. The passengers were transported in a low house, with a curved roof and small windows built upon a flat car. This was furnished with a board seat running all the way around except at the doorways, and was known as the "Hearse." The transportation rates were $5 a ton, feathers or hardware, it didn't make any difference, and passengers were carried for $5 each. Transportation rates before the railroad were $13.00 a ton. In 1881, the road was sold to the Oregon Railroad & Navigation Co.

A contest between a northern and southern route for the transcontinental railroad had arisen in Congress, and the larger population in California, due to the gold excitement, determined the construction of the Union Pacific. The Washington legislature, in 1858, had memorialized in favor of the northern route, and in 1860 a railroad convention to boost the northern route had met in Vancouver, attended by delegates from both Oregon and Washington. In 1864, Thad Stevens, a leader in the house, succeeded in passing a bill which was approved by President Lincoln, incorporating the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, and giving it a grant of lands to aid in building a railroad and telegraph line from Lake Superior to Puget Sound. The grant of land proved insufficient to raise the money for construction, which was estimated at $157,000,000. Jay Cooke & Co. finally undertook to raise the money and issued $100,000,000 7 and 3/10 per cent bonds in $50 lots to attract small investors. They were successful, and on February 15, 1870, ground was broken at Thompson Junction, 24 miles west of Duluth. In May of the same year, the western end was started at Kalama. A fight then developed in Washington for the Sound terminus of the line between Olympia, Steilacoom, Seattle, Tacoma and

Mukilteo. A committee from the company decided on Tacoma, and General Morton Mathew McCarver, founder of the city, drove the last spike on December 16, 1873. The other Sound cities now started a fight for existence. Seattle attempted to organize a line of its own through Snoqualmie Pass to Walla Walla. A survey of the road was completed by General Tilton and T. B. Morris in 1874. The estimated cost, by making the lower Yakima route, was $4,179,910, or $3,677,962, if built by way of Priest Rapids. The people of Seattle found it impossible to finance the road, although it was shown that the annual revenue would be $1,600,000 per year, so on May 14, 1874, they started out to build it themselves. Cannon and anvils were fired, steam whistles blown, and the whole town, men, women and children, started building the road. Everybody worked, and at noon there was much oratory and a dinner prepared by the women. The plan of action was for each man in the town to give at least one day a week to working on the road. The construction and enthusiasm lagged, so that by October only thirteen miles had been graded, and this was beginning to be washed away by the rains.

At this point J. M. Colman saved the day by advancing money and finishing the construction of the road to Seattle. On April 7 the people of Olympia had done practically the same thing. The Northern Pacific passed eighteen miles from Olympia at Tenino and the citizens determined to build a branch to their town.

"The building of this railroad was made a labor of love," says Bancroft. "The governor and territorial officers, and all the most prominent citizens worked at clearing and grading on regular days, called 'field days,' when their wives accompanied them to the place indicated by the superintendent of construction and carried with them ample provisions, which, being prepared and served by them with much mirth and amiability, converted the day of labor into a general holiday."

But their ardor also died and the road was not completed until July, 1878, when all the citizens were given a free ride on the first train to Tenino.

The legislature in 1875 passed an act to aid in the construction of the Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad, the name of which was changed to the Seattle and Colfax. The counties along the route, under this act, were permitted to contribute $400,000. But the road itself never developed.

The failure of Cooke and Company in 1873 delayed the Northern Pacific construction, and it was not until 1879 that work was resumed. The western end reached Spokane in 1881, and the road was continued eastward from Spokane towards the Pend d'Oreille and at the same time

westward from the Missouri River. The eastern and western ends of the Northern Pacific were brought together on the north bank of the Deer Lodge River in Montana on September 8, 1883. The Cascade division was started through Stampede Pass in 1884 and the first train reached Tacoma on July 3, 1887. The Puget Sound Shore line from Black River Junction to Stuck, to connect with the seven-mile spur of the Northern Pacific and give Seattle direct connection with the main line, was finished and trains were operated for but one month, when the line stopped and was known as the Orphan Road.

From the completion of the Northern Pacific Road until the present time, there has been a great era of railroad building until practically every portion of the state has one or more lines.

One of the first acts of Cooke and Company in taking over the Northern Pacific was to acquire control of the old Cascades road about the falls of the Columbia.

An early road in Seattle was that of the Seattle Coal Company, which connected the portage between Lake Washington and Lake Union and ran from the southern extremity of Lake Union to a wharf at the foot of Pike Street, a distance of approximately two miles.

In 1884, according to the report of Governor Watson C. Squire, the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company maintained 204 miles of track in the state. The Northern Pacific owned 324 miles, distributed as follows: From Wallula junction eastward, 179 miles; from Kalama to Tacoma, 105 miles; from Tacoma to South Prairie, 25 miles; from South Prairie to Carbonado, 8 miles; from Puyallup Junction to Stuck Junction, 6 miles. The Oregon Improvement Company, belonging to the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company, operated 21 miles narrow gauge from Seattle to Newcastle and 7 miles of an extension up Cedar River Valley between Renton and the McAllister coal mine. By December 1, the rails, said Governor Squire, would be laid to the Black Diamond mine, 31 miles from Seattle, and by January 1, 1885, to the north bank of the Green River, making a total of about 46 miles under control of the Oregon Improvement Company. The Olympia and Chehalis Valley Railroad connected Olympia with Tenino and another railroad connected the Northern Pacific at Stuck directly with Seattle, but not being operated. Counting the newly constructed roads, there were in 1884, 660 miles of railroads in the territory, of which about 600 was operated.

In 1885, the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company operated 259 miles, branches extending into the eastern wheat regions; one branch from Colfax to Moscow being completed and a branch from Starbuck to Pomeroy started. The Northern Pacific maintained 455 miles and had

completed during the year 62 miles from a point 25 miles west of Pasco to North Yakima. The grading and bridging of 37 additional miles between North Yakima and Ellensberg were finished, and 25 miles of road construction from South Prairie to Eagle Gorge, on Green River. By the beginning of 1886, but 75 miles of the Cascade division was unfinished. The Columbia and Puget Sound Railway Company, the old Oregon Improvement Company, had completed the line from Seattle to Franklin. A summary of the mileage gave 866 miles within the Territory, 804 of which were operated. This was a gain of 200 miles, or one-third of the total mileage, over 1885.

Governor Squire thus surveys the situation in his reoprt to the Secretary of the Interior in 1885-6: "We now have the Oregon Short Line, connecting westward by way of the Union Pacific to Portland; the Canadian Pacific Railroad, terminating at Port Moody on Burrard's Inlet, from which immigrants can arrive by a short ride on the steamer to Puget Sound; and perhaps most important of all, the Northern Pacific Railroad line, which now traverses the eastern portion of the Territory and makes its connections with the western portions by way of the Oregon Railway and Navigation line from Wallula to Portland."

The report showed that the Northern Pacific had completed the Cascade division as far as Ellensburg and had leased the Spokane and Palouse Railway, which had been built during the year, from Marshall Junction to Belmont. This road left the main line of the Northern Pacific at Marshall, nine miles west of Spokane Falls, and ran southward by way of the towns of Spangle and Rosalia to Belmont. The line, it was said, would be continued in 1887 to Snake River. Other proposed Northern Pacific branches mentioned were to the Cœur d'Alene region and to Colfax. The Bellingham Bay and British Columbia Railroad, which was organized in 1883 to build from Bellingham Bay to the Canadian Pacific at Mission, was mentioned in the report as projected. The road was not built, however, until 1889, and in 1891 the line was completed to Sumas and in 1900 extended to Glacier, with a branch in 1903 to Lynden. The Seattle, Lake Shore and Eastern Railroad was mentioned in this report as starting construction. This road was incorporated in 1885 and constructed afterwards a line to Snoqualmie, with a branch to Sumas. A line was also constructed from Spokane westward as far as Davenport, with the intention of ultimately connecting it with the Seattle end. The road was bought by the Northern Pacific.

In 1892 there were 2,618 miles of railroad in the State, distributed as follows: Northern Pacific, 1,244, including the following branches: Spokane and Palouse Railway, Farmington branch, Central Washington

Railway; Northern Pacific and Cascade Railway; Burnett Branch, Crocker branch; Tacoma, Orting and Southeastern Railway; Northern Pacific and Puget Sound Shore Railroad; Roslyn branch; Green River and Northern Railroad; Tacoma, Olympia & Grays Harbor Railroad (Centralia to Ocosta); Lake View Branch (Olympia to Ocosta); Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern; Yakima & Pacific Coast Railroad. Great Northern Railroad, controlling 487 miles, including the Seattle and Montana and the Bellingham Bay and British Columbia. Union Pacific System, controlling 270 miles, including a Walla Walla branch and a Mason branch. Oregon Improvement Company's lines, 164 miles, including Columbia River and Puget Sound, Port Townsend and Southern; Olympia branch and the Seattle and Northern Railroad. Hunt's system, 111 miles, including Washington and Columbia River Railway, formerly the Oregon & Washington Territory R. R. Co. (Eastern division, Dayton to Hunt's Junction); Western Division, Pendleton to Hunt's Junction in Washington; Eureka Flat Branch, Pleasant View to Eureka Junction. Other lines, 338 miles—Spokane Falls and Northern Railroad Co. (Spokane to Northport); Ilwaco & Shoalwater Bay Railroad; Puget Sound and Gray's Harbor; Mason County Central; Clifton to Port Orchard; Vancouver, Klickitat & Yakima; Monte Cristo; Blue Canyon Coal Road; Shelton Southwestern Railroad; Mosquito & Coal Creek Road in Cowlitz Co.; Ostrander, Cowlitz Co.; Fidalgo City and Anacortes; Wm. Knight & Co., Skagit Co.; Cascades Portage; Fairhaven and Southern; and the Washington Southern, Shelton to Satsop route. Washington in this year led all the other states in railroad building with a total of 420 miles, the nearest approach being Pennsylvania, with 256 miles.

In 1906, there were 3,292 miles of railroad in operation, just 400 per cent more than in 1886. The cost of construction was estimated at $160,000,000 and the mileage was owned and controlled as fololws: Northern Pacific, 1,782; Great Northern, 747; Oregon Railway & Navigation Company, 550; Tacoma Eastern Railroad, 62; Bellingham Bay and British Columbia, 58; Columbia and Puget Sound Railroad, 58, and the Canadian Pacific Railroad, controlling the Kettle River Valley Railway (Great Northern property afterwards), 35 miles.

In 1910, the railroads owned 3,795 miles in Washington and paid a total of $2,059,017 into the state treasury.

The following table, taken from the annual reports of the State Tax Commission, shows the growth of the roads in recent years:

ROAD	MILEAGE					TAXES				
	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Bell. B. & B. C. R. R. Co.	58.10	57.81	59.00	59.00	61.00	$ 15,108.59	$ 10,985.71	$ 8,252.00	$ 11,162.00	$ 12,544.00
Col. & P. S. R. R. Co.	57.90	60.26	58.00	57.00	57.00	14,708.63	20,084.54	16,815.00	22,765.00	38,694.00
Col. & Red Mt. R. R. Co.	7.51	7.51	7.51	.....	.....	1,621.88	1,621.88	2,014.00	.....	.....
Great Northern	542.04	547.00	547.00	806.00	817.00	140,747.81	172,057.00	344,548.00	457,577.00	699,032.00
Ilwaco Rail. & Nav. Co., O. R. & N.	*	15.26	15.00	28.00	28.00	*	2,639.00	3,406.00	3,772.00	2,862.00
Northern Pacific	1,535.14	1,591.00	1,629.00	1,737.00	1,665.00	452,760.00	742,091.00	839,571.00	1,241,000.00	1,070,903.00
Oregon Railroad & N. Co.	*	500.00	500.00	*	503.00	*	130,135.00	128,870.00	*	118,187.00
Port Townsend Southern R. R., N.P.	41.20	41.20	41.00	41.00	41.00	4,893.28	5,067.00	4,438.00	3,048.00	8,219.00
Spokane Falls & Nor. Ry., (G. N.)	139.28	139.28	139.00	.....	.....	27,601.92	29,042.00	36,185.00	.....	.....
Tacoma Eastern R. R. Co. (N. P.)	61.20	69.80	83.00	101.00	103.00	8,078.50	10,160.00	11,328.00	17,218.00	24,001.00
Wn. & Col. R. Ry. Co. (N. P.)	117.78	123.00	123.00	.....	.....	18,459.81	25,226.00	22,101.00	.....	.....
Wn. & G. N. Ry. Co.	69.38	83.90	111.00	.....	.....	9,356.88	10,654.00	15,328.00	.....	.....
Col. R. & Northern Ry. Co.	*	*	.....	.....	.....	*	*	.....	.....	.....
Spokane & B. C. Ry. Co.	*	*	.....	.....	.....	*	*	.....	.....	.....
Spokane International R.	.....	.....	18.50	18.50	18.50	.....	.....	1,241.00	6,146.00	2,753.00
Seat. S. E. Ry. (Pd. by N. C. T. Co.)	.....	.....	5.00	5.00	4.00	.....	.....	.....	529.00	648.00
Ore. & Wn. R. R. Co.	.....	.....	.....	6.10	6.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	151.00
Ore., Wn. & Idaho R. R. Co.	.....	.....	.....	70.00	70.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	9,296.00
Snake Riv. Vy. R. R. Co. (O. R. & N.)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Spokane U. Depot Co. (Harriman)	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Spok., Port., Seat. Ry.	.....	.....	.....	.....	400.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	99,353.00
Wn., Oregon & Mont. Ry.	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,344.00
North Yakima & Vy. Ry.	.....	.....	.....	.....	14.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,012.00
Totals	2,629.00	3,238.00	3,336.00	2,856.00	3,795.00	$ 693,337.00	$1,159,966.00	$1,433,981.00	$1,763,171.00	$2,059,017.00

ROAD	ASSETS				
	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Bell. B. & B. C. R. R. Co.	$ 2,106,239.00	$ 2,096,211.00	$ 2,078,947.00	$ 2,112,870.00	$ 2,144,114.00
Col. & P. S. R. R. C.	2,319,189.00	2,257,613.00	2,572,194.00	2,515,083.00	4,205,975.00
Col. & Red Mt. R. R. Co.	582,415.00	605,119.00	.....	.....	.....
Great Northern	289,250,280.00	320,036,465.00	363,608,616.00	523,994,447.00	533,800,870.00
Ilwaco Rail. & Nav. Co. (O. R. & N.)	289,330.00	288,974.00	598,885.00	952,123.00	1,190,082.00
Northern Pacific	478,357,645.00	489,782,115.00	533,502,636.00	593,672,421.00	638,048,555.00
Ore. Railroad & N. Co.	79,632,205.00	84,568,502.00	.....	67,635,193.00	68,979,697.00
Port Townsend Southern R. R. (N. P.)	3,950,355.00	4,064,104.00	5,340,100.00	4,794,650.00	4,842,676.00
Spokane Falls & Northern Ry. (G. N.)	6,447,199.00	6,623,826.00	.....	.....	.....
Tacoma Eastern R. R. Co. (N. P.)	2,791,260.00	2,996,590.00	3,403,067.00	3,615,862.00	3,682,855.00
Wn. & Col. R. Ry Co.(N. P.)	8,169,640.00	8,290,666.00	.....	.....	.....
Wn. & G. N. Ry Co.	3,145,083.00	4,826,420.00	.....	.....	.....
Col. R. & Northern Ry. Co.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Spok. & B. C. Ry. Co.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Spokane International R.	.....	.....	9,018,651.00	9,268,855.00	.....
Seattle Southeastern Ry. (Paid by No. Coast Timber Co.)	.....	.....	113,550.32	113,048.00	126,174.56
Ore. & Wn. R. R. Co.	.....	.....	16,668,943.00	19,740,279.00	23,865,940.00
Ore., Wn. & Idaho R. R. Co.	.....	.....	3,031,968.00	3,928,776.00	4,012,164.00
Snake River Vy. R. R. Co. (O. R. & N.)	.....	.....	2,506,573.00	2,601,805.00	.....
Spokane Union Depot Co. (Harriman)	.....	.....	454,952.00	496,553.00	521,556.00
Spokane, Portland, Seattle Ry.	.....	.....	.....	.....	53,892,003.00
Wn., Ore. & Mont. Ry.	.....	.....	.....	2,295,474.00	2,385,417.00
North Yakima & Vy. Ry.	.....	.....	.....	1,243,990.00	1,395,323.00
Total	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

*No report.

Since its completion in 1883, the Northern Pacific Railroad's policy has been to acquire control of lines throughout the state. At different times it has bought the following roads: The Puget Sound Shore Railroad, bought in 1890; the Seattle, Lake Shore & Eastern Railroad; the Spokane and Palouse Railroad, operated from Spokane south into Idaho, the construction of which was begun in 1886, and later extended from Pullman to Moscow; the Washington Central, from Spokane to Coulee City, begun in 1888 and completed in 1891, extended to connect with the Great Northern in 1903; the Bellingham Bay & Eastern Railroad, from Bellingham to Wickersham, incorporated in 1891, constructed in 1901 and sold to the Northern Pacific in 1902; the Seattle and San Francisco Railroad; the Everett & Monte Cristo, from Everett to Snohomish and from Hartford to Monte Cristo; the Washington & Columbia River Railroad, organized as the Oregon & Washington Territory Railroad in 1887, known as the Hunt Road, built from Wallula to Walla Walla, nearly paralleling the Snake, but branching off at Eureka Junction and going down the other side of the triangle to Walla Walla and thence to Pendleton and Athena in Oregon. The road was organized in 1887 by Pendleton business men, who could not carry out their plans, and the road was acquired by G. W. Hunt, an experienced railroad builder of Corvallis. The Port Townsend and Southern, acquired in 1901, was organized in 1887 and construction begun in 1890, the line extending from Port Townsend to Quilcene and from Olympia to Tenino, a projected road going from Tenino to Tacoma.

The Oregon Railway and Navigation Company got its foothold in Washington by the purchase of Dr. Baker's Rawhide road. In 1881, the company completed a road from Portland to Wallula, which gave it direct connections with Walla Walla. Extensions from Walla Walla to Riparia and from Bolles to Dayton were made in 1881. In 1883, under the name of the Columbia & Palouse Railway, a road was built from Connell to Colfax, and in 1885 this was extended to Pullman and Moscow. The company extended its line from Starbuck to Pomeroy in 1885 and in 1886, as the Columbia and Palouse, from Colfax to Farmington; in 1888, as the Washington and Idaho, from Farmington to Rockford, and in its own name from Riparia to La Crosse; in 1889, as the Washington and Idaho, from Rockford to Spokane, and from Tekoa to Mullan, Idaho; and as the Oregon Extension Company, from Winona to Seltice; as the Snake River Valley Railway, from Wallula to Grange City; and in its own name from Dayton to Turner and Fairfield to Waverly; in 1889, under the name of the Ilwaco Railway and Navigation Company, from Ilwaco to Nahcotta.

The work of construction of the Great Northern from its Idaho line to Lowell was started April, 1892, and completed January 6, 1893.

The Seattle and Northern was acquired. This road was incorporated in November, 1888, with Elijah Smith, president, and H. W. McNeil, vice-president, to build a road from Seattle northerly via Whatcom to a point on the northern boundary of Washington near Blaine; also from where it crosses the Skagit up to the mouth of the Sauk, and thence in an easterly course to Spokane Falls; also from the Skagit crossing westerly via Fidalgo Island and Deception Pass to Admiralty Head on Whidby Island. The road from Hamilton to Sauk or Rockport, begun August 7, 1900, was completed February 6, 1901, Anacortes to Hamilton, constructed in 1890 and 1891.

The Washington & Great Northern Railway, Curlew to Midway, was started August 19, 1905, and completed November 28, 1905; Marcus to Republic, started October 3, 1901, and completed July 29, 1902.

The Fairhaven and Southern Railway Company, incorporated in 1888 with Nelson Bennett, president, and a capital stock of $1,000,000, was built from Bellingham Bay to Vancouver, B. C. This gave Bellingham Bay its first connection with the outside world. It was bought by the Great Northern in 1891, after surveys had been completed to extend it to Seattle, becoming a part of the Seattle & Montana system.

The Columbia and Puget Sound Railroad, existing as an independent road, bought the Seattle & Walla Walla Road in 1880, and has since extended it in the Newcastle coal region. It is ranked as a part of the Oregon Railway & Navigation system.

The Bellingham Bay & British Columbia Railroad, extending from Bellingham to Glacier, an independent road, was organized in 1883. In 1889, construction started and in 1903 was completed to Glacier, with a branch, built in 1903, to Lynden.

The Tacoma Eastern Railroad Company, a part of the Chicago, Milwaukee & Puget Sound system, although long ranked as independent, was organized in 1890 and constructed to Ashford. In 1900 it was continued to Kosmos.

The latest addition to the transcontinental roads is the Chicago, Milwaukee and Puget Sound Railway, which has completed its road, entering the state at Plummer, and proceeding directly west to Tacoma and Seattle. Branches are in operation to Spokane, Everett, Marcellus, and the Tacoma Eastern road to Mount Rainier, and the Grays Harbor and Puget Sound Railway to Grays Harbor.

The North Coast Road, traveling through Spokane, Davenport, Walla Walla, North Yakima, Portland, Tacoma and Seattle, is not yet completed. It is a part of the Harriman system.

The Spokane, Portland and Seattle Railroad, the North Bank Road, traversing the North Bank of the Columbia and Snake, completed in 1910, is used jointly by the Northern Pacific and Great Northern.

In addition to these roads mentioned, there are scores of logging railroads, privately owned, to transfer lumber to the main roads.

The aim of the railroads in the past has been to tap the shipping, lumber, coal and wheat regions of the state, so that practically every section of the state has an outlet for its products. Development within the next few years will be to open up the great Olympic peninsula and to further build throughout the Okanogan region. SOL H. LEWIS.

JOURNAL OF JOHN WORK, NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1824.*

Deputy Governor George Simpson (afterward knighted, and more generally designated Sir George Simpson), at the head of the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company in British North America for nearly 40 years, was a very forceful and thorough man. He had been chosen to the position at the time of the coalition with the Northwest Company in 1821, and the last District to be visited and reorganized by him was the Columbia District, for the management of which Dr. John McLoughlin had been selected as resident Chief Factor. This was the occasion for the presence of Gov. Simpson at Ft. George at the mouth of the Columbia river in November, 1824; along with Dr. McLoughlin and others he had just arrived from across the mountains.

The expedition covered by the Journal herewith (which is now published in full for the first time) had been planned several months previous; this we know from correspondence with John McLeod at Thompson River (Kamloops), instructing him to detach Mr. Annamour, a clerk, to become one of the party. Mr. McLeod had been instructed to obtain all possible information as to an outlet to the Coast by way of Fraser river or any other stream of New Caledonia; and to explore personally in the interior. It was not until after 1828, when Gov. Simpson personally made the trip up Peace River and down the Fraser, that he gave up the immediate search for such an outlet; even later he was hoping to find one further north. So immediately after his arrival at Ft. George this expedition was outfitted and sent off. It is evident that the report from Mr. McMillan was desired before a permanent location should be selected further up the Columbia for the District Headquarters. Fort Vancouver then did not yet exist except by anticipation.

The personnel of the expedition is interesting. Mr. Jas. McMillan was a man of experience on the Columbia, the same who was associated on its upper waters with David Thompson fifteen years earlier; he afterward built Ft. Langley on the Fraser river and remained in charge until succeeded there by Mr. Archibald MacDonald in 1828. The ubiquitous and brave Thos. McKay, now a son-in-law of Dr. McLoughlin, but previously a member of the first Astoria party on the Tonquin, had returned

*After Mr. Elliott had prepared this paper for the Washington Historical Quarterly it was learned that Mr. E. O. S. Scholefield of the Provincial Library of British Columbia had arranged to publish the Work Journal with other materials in a buleltin. Notwithstanding this fact, the Journal is here published for the benefit of readers who might not receive the proposed bulletin and also because of the fact that the record bears directly upon the field of this Quarterly.—[Editor.]

to the Columbia with the present party; he of course wanted to be present when any chance for a scrap with the Indians might occur, for he had a family score to wipe out. He was in charge of the hunting and expected to keep the party supplied with fresh meat. Mr. Annamour was a clerk in rank who did not rise to special prominence in later years; Mr. Work, the writer of this Journal, was the other clerk. Mr. John Work was of Irish descent, his name is properly spelled Wark, but less often appears so written. He became a prominent man among the H. B. Co. officials of the District. His daughter, widow of the late Edward Huggins of Tacoma, has only recently died in that city; another daughter was the wife of the late Dr. Wm. Fraser Tolmie, whose last years were spent in Victoria, B. C., and whose children possess the original Journal from which this copy has been kindly allowed. This is the Journal from which Hubert Howe Bancroft personally drew his account of this same expedition as appears on pp. 464-8 of his History of the Northwest Coast, Vol. 2. It has not before been printed in full.

Briefly stated, the expedition portaged from the Columbia river at Ilwaco across to Shoalwater Bay and from that Bay portaged again along the beach to Grays Harbor; thence followed the meanderings of the Chehalis and Black river to a source in Black Lake, from which a portage was made to either Eld or Budd Inlet of Puget Sound; thence followed the Easterly channels and bays of the Sound to a stream beyond the 49th parallel that empties into Boundary Bay and up that stream to a portage across to another stream flowing into the Fraser river at the site chosen for Fort Langley a little more than a year later, and up the Fraser river for two days, a full month being consumed to the date of turning back. Returning they paddled and sailed out of the mouth of the Fraser, rounded Point Roberts and spent a night at Birch Bay and then followed practically the same route they had come as far back as Black River south of Olympia, Washington; there the party divided, Mr. McMillan, Mr. Work and a few others proceeding by the more traveled and direct route of the Cowlitz to the Columbia and Ft. George, and Mr. McKay, in charge of the remainder of the party, taking the boats back by the route first traveled. The return was made in twelve days by Mr. McMillan. To follow this course closely with the aid of charts published by the U. S. and Dominion Governments and county maps showing careful details will be of much interest to residents of the counties bordering upon the Coast (who will appreciate what was meant by a "weighty rain") and Puget Sound and the Fraser. The journal is also of value as showing the carrying capacity of the light batteaus used by the fur traders, and the variety of food carried

for their sustenance, and the manual labor and exposure common to their expeditions.

No opportunity has been available to compare with the original journa lnad check some uncertainties in copying.

T. C. ELLIOTT.

Journal of John Work

Nov., 1824—Governor Simpson having determined to send an expedition to the Northward for the purpose of discovering the entrance of Fraser's River, and ascertaining the possibility of navigating that River with boats, and also of examining the coast between Fort George and Fraser's River as far as practicable. James McMillan, Esq., was appointed to command the expedition, which consisted of:

Thos. McKay, F. N. Annamour, John Work, clerks; Michael Laframbois, interpreter; 1, Pierre L'Etang; 2, Jas. Portneuf Abanaker; 3, Alexis Aubuchou; 4, Pierre Villandri; 5, J. B. Proveau; 6, Peter Wagner; 7, F. H. Condon; 8, Pierre Karogarajab, Ir.; 9, Louis Shatakorata, Ir.; 10, Wm. Johnston, Englishman; 11, Segwin Le Deranti; 12, Cawano, Ir.; 13, Louis Anawano, Ir.; 14, Pierre Karaguana, Ir.; 15, Chas. Jaundeau; 16, Louis Diomilea; 17, Andre Lonctoin; 18, Chas. Rondeau; 19, Pierre Patvin; 20, Ettuni Oniager, Ir.; 21, Louis Hanatiohe, Ir.; 22, Louis Vivet; 23, Peo Beau, Islander; 24, Thos. Tojanel, Islander; 25, Thos. Zawaiton, Islander; 26, Jos. Loui Abanaker; 27 Andre Le Chappel; 28, J. B. Dubian; 29, Joseph Derpard; 30, Leo Depuis; 31, Jacques Patvin; 32, Louis Shorakorta, Islander; 33, Joseph Grey, Islander; 34, Bazil Pioner; 35, Momonta, Islander; 36, Cannon, American.

Besides the above group, an Iroquoy Freehunter and his slave also accompanied the party on account of his being acquainted with the coast part of the way. The voyage to be performed in three boats, the only loading of which consists of . . kegs pease, . . kegs oatmeal, . . bags flour, . . kegs pork, . . kegs grease, . . kegs rum, . . keg butter, . . kegs, sugar, . . bags biscuit, . . bags pemmican. In all . . days' provisions.

Thursday, 18 (November)

Everything being in readiness, the expedition left Fort George at a quarter past one o'clock and in 2 hours and 10 minutes reached the portage[1] in Bakers Bay, a distance of not less than 14 miles. This portage is about . . miles to the Northward of Cape Disappointment. This portage is made to avoid doubling the Cape, which is not practicable with our

[1]Present town of Ilwaco.

boats. Though the wind did not blow very strong, there was a heavy swell in the middle of the River. Mr. Kennedy acompanied in a boat to Bakers Bay and stopped with us for the night. It was drizzling rain in the after part of the day, with some showers.

FRIDAY, 19 NOV., 1824

Weighty rain all day and blowing fresh in the afternoon from the Eastward.

Commenced carrying the boats and cargoes across the portage of 1060 yards, to a small lake[2] about half a mile long. The portage was wet and dirty, but in dry weather it would be a fine road. From this little lake part of the people carried part of the cargo, while the remainder of the people with the boats and the rest of the property proceeded down a small creek[3] that receives its waters from the lake. This creek is so narrow that the boats could scarcely be got dragged through it, and all the property had to be carried the greater part of the way. The road along this little creek, which runs through a little swampy plain, is very soft and wet. We have got only about 2-3 of the way across the portage. The distance we have made from the little lake is 4,200 paces in a direction nearly N. by E.

Mr. Kennedy, who came to see us across the river, took leave of us at the little lake.

Abundance of geese and ducks are along this little river and swamp. McKay killed three and Mr. Annamour 1 goose. Some parts of the road there were a good many cranberries.

SATURDAY, 20

Blew a storm in the night with weighty showers of rain. Fine weather in the morning, but very weighty rain afterwards, wind S. E. The people resumed transporting the property and boats to where the tide came up the little river, a distance of 1,218 yards, here all the property was embarked, and at 440 yards farther down the passengers also embarked. Here the creek began to widen and a strong flood tide made it sufficiently deep for the boats. About two miles farther we came to the entrance of Grey's Bay,[4] down which we proceeded about 9 miles and encamped about 2 o'clock P. M. at the entrance of a little river on the west side of the bay.[5] Our reasons for stopping so early was its being too late to cross the bay and there being no possibility of getting water farther on. The wind being favorable, the sails were hoisted about an

2Whealdon's Pond, vulgarly called Black Lake.
3Tarlett Slough and Cranberry Marshes.
4Mouth of Slough at Shoalwater Bay.
5Near present town Oysterville.

hour. The little valley through which we passed yesterday and today is here and there clothed with willows, which some places nearly choke up the river, in some parts it is clear and clothed with verdure, in several places it is very swampy on account of the heavy rain and the tide flowing over its lower end. The part of the Bay which we have passed through seems to be from 4 to 6 or 7 miles wide. On the W. side the shores are flat and covered with woods, principally a kind of pine, to the water's edge, wood of the same description also extends to the water's edge on the E. side, but the shores in some places appear steep and seem to be compounded of a reddish clay. Our general course all day was nearly due North.

Here there is a small village of Chenooks consisting of 5 inhabited and 1 uninhabited house.

SUNDAY, 21

Fair weather, a fine gentle breeze of wind from the S. E., some weighty rain in the night. As it would have been too long to wait for the tide rising sufficiently high, the boats and property were carried about 1/4 of a mile, and we were on the water at 8 o'clock. Our courses were as follows: N. E. 5 miles, which was across to the East side of the Bay,[6] then along the East side of it; N. W. 6 miles[7]; W. N. W. 4 miles; N. N. W. 5 miles; and W. N. W. 8 miles, which brought us to a point[8] which forms the entrance of the bay on the East side at 1 o'clock. This is a low point about 2 miles across and has such a heavy surf breaking upon it, particularly that from the ocean on its north side, that it is impossible to take boats round with any degree of safety, the cargoes were therefore, carried nearly across the point, a distance of 3,300 yards. The labour of carrying will not end here, as the sea is breaking with such violence on the shore, that that business (will) likely have to be continued a good while. Notwithstanding this breach of the sea on the beach, the wind is off the land and not blowing strong. The road in this portage is very good, the ground is sound, dry, with some fir, pines and willows growing upon it. Grey's Bay widens greatly towards its entrance, it is in some parts not less than 15 miles. The E. shore appears still flat near the water, the bank on the W. side is a little higher and in some places would be difficult to land, as they are so steep. In crossing the entrance to two bays before we came to the portage, the tide ran very high, the waves were very high, but as they did not break we shipped no water.

[8]North Cove on Willapa Harbor.
[6]Bay Center and Goose Point.
[7]Toke Point.

MONDAY, 22ND

Stormy with very weighty rain in the night and blowing fresh with some showers during the day. Wind southerly.

All hands were at work at an early hour, part carrying the property 3,870 yards N. N. W. farther on the portage, and part clearing a road along a little river, so that the boats might be got through that way in preference to attempting the sea shore. About all the people were sent for the boats, which they brought with great labour a distance of about 3 miles, the greater part of which they had to be dragged through places almost entirely dry or little better than swamps. Tomorrow it is intended to carry them to the sea shore and try to get them along as the Indians do their canoes, which is to conduct them along between the beach and the shore, while thus employed the waves often break over both them and their canoes. The road through which the goods were carried today is very good and lies along the edge of the woods which is about ¼ to ½ miles from the shore. Geese are plentiful, 20 were killed, they are mostly the small grey geese and very lean, however, provided a kettle for the men. Vandit and little Louis are lame.

TUESDAY, 23

Light clouds, fine fair weather, light wind from the S. E. At daylight all the people were employed carrying the boats from the woods where they were left yesterday to the sea shore, afterwards part of the men, 6 and boat, conducted them along shore in the inside of the breakers, where they had just water enough to float them to the other end of the portage. One of the boats was left some distance on this side of the others. In performing this business part of the men stopped in the boats with poles to keep her right and to watch the waves, while the rest dragged her along with a line; the swells were often nearly upsetting her. The surges often flowed in about the men at the line until they were up to the middle. The remainder of the people were employed carrying the property a distance of 4,620 yards N. N. W. The road still continues very good.

Mr. Annamour went to seek elk, but saw no appearance of any. He represents the country as bare and swampy and unfit for the residence of elk. 5 geese were killed, the same kind as yesterday and equally lean.

One of the men, Vanditt Potvin, who got lame yesterday, was so ill that he had to be carried today. Yesterday morning a small spot on the upper part of his foot became painful and suddenly swelled very large and

is now so painful that he cannot put it to the ground. This (is) an unfortunate circumstance in our present situation.

WEDNESDAY, 24

Overcast, fair weather except some showers in the afternoon, wind S. E.

As soon as it was daylight, all hands were at work and carried the property along shore 3,720 yards N. N. W.,[9] and then struck along the woods to a bracnh of the Chihalis Bay[10] a distance of 2,364 yards N. E., where the goods were all brought by 1 o'clock. The road along the sea shore was the same as yesterday, but that across the woods is very bad. It lies through thick woods and is almost one continuation of swamps where the men with their loads were often on their knees in water and mud. By taking this road a great deal of labour is saved ,as it is 3 miles shorter than the road along the shore and across the other end of the point. As soon as the goods were got across the half of the people were sent to take round the boat which was left yesterday and to bring it and the other two up to this place; they have not yet arrived.

A goose and 2 ducks were killed, great numbers of ducks are in this small branch of the bay, but they are very shy and difficult to get at.

Vandit Patvin is getting worse, the swelling is extending up his leg and several black spots are appearing on his foot, he had to be carried all the way we came today.

The whole length of this portage which we have just got across is little more than 15 miles.

THURSDAY, 25

Overcast with drizzling rain and weighty showers. Wind S. E. blowing pretty fresh. Rained hard in the night.

At an early hour the men who remained at the camp were sent off to assist the others with the boats with which they arrived at noon, and at ½ past 1 o'clock we embarked and proceeded up the Chihalis Bay. Our courses were N. 5 miles, N. N. E. 4 miles and N. E. 5 miles along the E. side of the Bay. On account of the haziness of the weather the form of the Bay or the appearance of the country about it could not be clearly discerned, but the Bay appears to be about 6 miles wide at its entrance immediately after which it widens to from 10 to 12 miles and then narrows gradually as we advance to from 3 to 4 miles. The shores are thickly clothed with wood, chiefly pine, to the water's edge, and near the water are rather flat. It is sometimes difficult to find a dry place to encamp on account of the rising tides, fresh

[9]Near to Westport.
[10]Gray's Harbor.

water is also sometimes a scarce article, and that which we got being obtained from the swamps is of a bad quality and sometimes brackish.

The Iroquoy George[11] had been stationary near this bay sometime past hunting sea otter, he has now sent all his slaves to the Fort but one with whom he accompanies us.

A canoe with 10 Chihalis Indians passed us on their way to the Chenooks.

FRIDAY, 26

Weighty rain in the night and with the exception of a few short intervals in the afternoon, pouring down rain all day. Blowing fresh from the E. forenoon. The men were completely drenched, and it was with difficulty a fire was got made when we put ashore for breakfast.

Embarked at daylight and proceeded to the bottom of the bay,[12] a distance of about 6 miles N. E. Here we entered the Chihalis River, up which we proceeded about 18 miles in a winding course which varies from N. E. to S. E., the course in general may be considered E. The part of the bay through which we passed in the morning narrows from 2 miles to about ½ mile in breadth, the shores of the North side are pretty high and those on the S. side are low and swampy near the water. The Bay from S. W. to N. E. may be about 23 or 24 miles in length. The Chihailis River is about 300 yards wide at its entrance and narrows as we advance till about 100 yds. where we are now encamped. The banks in some places are high and steep, but often low and flat and thickly wooded to the water's edge, principally pine on the high banks and oak and alder on the low points, and all along so thickly (covered) with underwood, bush and long grass, that it would be difficult to penetrate any distance into the woods; the shores are wet and muddy. The navigation for so far is very good, the river is deep and the current slack, the tide ascends this far. In the course of the day we passed several islands. Passed 4 villages of the Chihailis Nation, 2 houses in the first, 5 in the second, 2 in the third, and 3 in the fourth, opposite which we encamped. Though these people are well accustomed with the Whites and have been still on friendly terms with them, we were surprised to find them all under arms on our approach, and at some of the villages assuming threatening attitudes, shouting from behind the trees and presenting their arms, particularly their bows and arrows, as if in the act of discharging them. On inquiring into the cause of this unexpected conduct, we learned that Cumcumilus Son Cassica had spread a report among these people that the Whites were coming to attack them and they were too credulous as to dis-

[11] The Freehunter already mentioned.
[12] Near Aberdeen.

believe it, but they were soon undeceived and a present of a little tobacco to some of the chief men dismissed all appearances of hostility.

Patvin, the lame man, is getting no better, the swelling is rather increasing than decreasing.

These peoples' houses and appearances, etc., are in every respect similar to the Chenooks, they have a good many fine arms among them.

We can only form a conjecture as to their number, from the first 3 houses we passed a canoe followed us with 14 men whom we supposed were all that belonged to those two houses, which was 7 house, supposing each house to contain 7 men fit to bear arms, as we passed 12 houses the number of men would be 84 which is probably correct, perhaps under the thing.

These peoples' houses are constructed of planks set on end and neatly fastened at the top, those in the ends lengthening towards the middle to form the proper pitch, the roofs are cased in with plank, the seams between which are filed with moss, a space is left open all the way along the ridge which answers the double purpose of letting out the smoke and admitting the light. About their habitations there is a complete bank of filth and nastiness. At this wet season it is a complete mess mixed with the offal of fish and dirt of every kind renders it surprising that human beings can reside among it.

SATURDAY, 27

Poured down rain all night, blowing fresh from the S. E. It rained incesstantly with very little wind till 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when it ceased and a fair evening succeeded. Every person and every thing was completely drenched, our means of keeping them dry being ineffectual.

In order to save time and avoid the difficulty of getting a fire, we breakfasted before we left our encampment, and embarked at 8 o'clock and continued our course up the river to 4 o'clock in the afternoon where we encamped both wet and uncomfortable, but the evening being fine a good fire was soon made and all hands were soon employed warming themselves and drying their clothes. The distance made today we reckon from 20 to 24 miles through a very winding course, the river was so crooked that we were steering to every part at times, but our general course was East. The current was very strong and the people had often to use their poles. The general appearance of the river is much the same as yesterday except that the banks are high and not so soft and muddy as when the tide ebbs and flows. The breadth of the river this day might be from 60 to 80 yards. The continual rain is causing the river to rise very fast and, of course, increases the strength of the current. We passed 10 houses, first 1, next six and last 3 all of the Chihailis nation.

The inhabitants did not appear in arms nor did they appear alarmed as those we passed yesterday. They were likely appeased by some of their friends who proceeded us, that they had no reason to be alarmed. At the large village I counted 47 men on the bank and saw some in the houses besides, the whole of which were upwards of 50, but some of those we saw yesterday were among them. The filth about these houses exceeded that we saw yesterday. About and even in the houses were literally alive with maggots which had generated in the off all of fish and the stench was most offensive. Canoes of these people accompanied us from one village to another, many of them were quite naked regardless of the rain. Several tracks of elks were seen today. But not a single appearance of beaver have we seen yet in the river.

Patvin is getting worse, his foot and leg has broke in different places.

SUNDAY, 28

Raining the most part of the night. Short intervals of fair weather in the morning and constant rain afterwards. Wind S. E.

Embarked a little after 8 o'clock and pursued our course up the river a distance of about 10 miles S. E. to where it receives a little river called the Black River from the Northward, up which we proceeded about 10 miles in about a N. E. direction. The part of the Chihailis River which we passed today is much the same in appearance as that described yesterday. The current continues very strong, the water had risen considerably in the night. The Black River[13] so named from the colour of its water, is from 20 to 30 yards wide, towards its lower end the navigation is very good, the water is deep and the current not strong, but about 5 or 6 miles up it the navigation gets troublesome as the current becomes strong and in many places so shallow that the boats could scarcely be dragged through it. The river was also in two places blocked up with driftwood, at one of which a portage was made, a passage was cut through the other, a great deal of drift wood is piled on the shore at many places along the river. The banks of this river are in some places elevated and in some places low, the high banks are generally clothed with lofty pine and the low ones with poplar, ash, alder, etc., and the low points with thick willows. Where we are encamped is on the edge of a little plain. This river would not be passable for such craft as ours in the dry season. A great many dead salmon are in the river and many that are just alive and barely able to move through the water. Passed on Indian house belonging to the Holloweena nation, I counted 12 persons at it, probably some more were in the house.

[13]This name still sticks; evidently there before 1824.

MONDAY, 29

Wind S. E. Rain in the night and a continual succession of weighty showers all day.

Embarked at ½ past 8 o'clock and proceeded about 9 miles up the river in a N. E. course. In places the river was very shallow and our progress was sometimes obstructed by driftwood. In other parts the navigation was good as the water was deep and the current slack. The appearance of the country is changing considerably as we advance. The low points are covered with willows and small poplars, plane and some oak trees, while the higher banks have pine, and some distance appear hills thickly clothed with pine, between these hills and the river there are in some places fine plains. Saw several marks of beaver.

Encamped at noon, the cause of stopping so soon was to wait for Mr. Annamour who had been sent to the principal Holloweena village a few miles off, for a trader Pierre Charles who has been with the Indians for some time. It is thought that he would be an acquisition to our party, but he could not be found.

Some of the people were sent off to hunt but returned unsuccessful though they saw both elk and deer. This is reckoned a good part of the country for those animals.

Passed two houses of the Halloweena Nation at which I counted 10 men and as many women besides children, probably some more were in the houses. Saw some more Indians some of whom had horses.

TUESDAY, 30

Rain in the night and weighty rain the greater part of the day with strong gusts of wind from the S. E. We did not decamp today. Patvin's foot and leg has got so ill that there is no prospects of his recovery on the voyage, and this being the last place from which there is any chance of getting him sent back to the Fort, an agreement was made with an Indian, a principal man of the Chihailis Nation whom we met, to take him home to the Fort, for which he was to be paid handsomely on his arrival. Several of the men were, therefore, sent off with the sick man to meet the Indian at the Halloweena Village where he was to proceed by the sea coast in a canoe. Eawania an Islander was sent with them to take care of him, but the men returned in the evening and reported that the Indian had made some difficulties and wanted payment before he went off. It not being considered prudent to send the sick man with the Indian, a bargain was made with another a Halloweena to take him by the Cowlitch, by which route he was expected to make the Fort sooner.

Pierre Charles, the man who was wanted yesterday, joined our party.

Several of the people went to hunt and Mr. Annamour and Little Pierre killed each a deer. Some of the others saw both elk and deer but killed none, the heavy rain was unfavourable for hunting.

Wednesday, 1st Dec.

Showery weather, wind S. E. There has been more fair weather last night and today than for several days past.

In consequence of having to send the Interpreter Laframbois to finish the arrangements with the Indian and get him sent off with the sick man, we did not move camp today, until the Interpreter returned in the evening having effected his mission satisfactorily. The Indian who was engaged for the purpose had set out with the sick man by the Cowlitch. Part of the journey had to be performed on horse back. The poor man is furnished with a supply of provisions, medicines and the means of procuring provisions as the means possessed of would admit.

Several of the people were sent off to hunt, they are to proceed to a portage a short way ahead and there meet us.

Since we have been here several of the Halloweena Indians from the neighbouring village have visited us. Their mode of life, manners, language, etc., differ little from the Chihailis, indeed, they may be considered as a detached part of that tribe.

Thursday, 2nd

Mild fair weather, wind Easterly.

Embarked at half past 7 o'clock and proceeded about 5 miles up the river nearly N. Here the river becomes so narrow and nearly chocked up with willows and trees that it was found necessary to make a portage and the goods were carried a distance of 2,980 yards. The boats were brought up by water which was such a tedious business, a road having to be cut for them in many places through the bushes, that it was night when they reached the upper end of the portage. The part of the river through which we passed today is pretty deep and the current not strong except at some points till we reach the portage. The shores are complete thickets of willows and different kinds of deciduous trees, mostly ash. The portage is a fine road through a handsome plain. Saw several marks of beaver by their cuttings they seem to be fonder of the ash than other trees.

Friday, 3rd

Wind Northerly, fair mild weather except a little drizzling rain in the morning.

Embarked at ¼ past 7 o'clock and proceeded up the river and nearly to the head of a lake[14] where it has its source, a distance of about 8 miles N. to a Portage where boats and all have to be carried across land to Puget's Sound. On our arrival at the portage at 10 o'clock the business of carrying was immediately commenced and the boats and goods carried 3,140 yards N. W., the men had a hard day's work.

The river widened a little above the portage we left in the morning, but was in many places nearly chocked up with willows, but on account of the recent rain there was plenty of water. Pine trees lined the shores which are low at some distance from the water, the intervening space is covered with thick willows and small trees of different kinds. The lake is about 3 to 4 miles long and from 1 to ½ miles wide, and appears on every side thickly wooded with, chiefly pine. In the part of the portage which we passed today the road is very good running through a small plain with ash trees scattered here and there through it and afterwards through thick woods of lofty trees of different kind, some of which are very large, and a good deal of underwood. The road is very good for carrying the pieces as it has been a good deal frequented by Indians, but it is too narrow to carry the boats through, and requires a good deal of labour to widen it, as some of the trees to be removed are pretty large, six men were employed clearing it all day.

The hunters who left us two days ago met us here. Mr. Annamour killed a deer which was the only success the party had.

Saturday, 4th Dec., 1824

Fair mild weather, wind Northerly.

At daylight the people resumed their labour on the portage, part to clear a road for the boats and part to carry the baggage. The property was carried to the end of the portage, a distance of 4,950 yards N. W., by 11 o'clock after which all hands were employed carrying the boats a part of the way. This labour is attended with a great deal of difficulty, as we advance the road gets worse, it is in many places wet and miry, the trees are of a very large size many of them fallen, and the ground among them so thickly covered with underwood, particularly an evergreen shrub called by the Chenooks Lallall, that cutting a road through them for the boats is a tedious and laborious task. The track is also intersected by thin little rivers or creeks.

The portage is 8,090 yards long, and except a little plain at its commencement, thickly wooded with different kinds of trees, pine, maple, cedar, ash and wild cherry. Some of the pine trees are very large. I

[14]Black Lake of today. See note on Dec. 26th ultra.

measured some of them, one of the largest was upwards of 5 fathoms in circumference, another 28 feet around, the soil seems to be very rich.

Pierre Charles was sent to hunt and returned in the evening having killed two elk.

SUNDAY, 5TH

Overcast mild fair weather, wind North.

At an early hour part of the men was sent off for the meat that was killed yesterday, and the rest continued their labour at the boats which are yet a considerable distance from the end of the portage, though the people wrought at the road and carrying them all day. A good allowance of the fresh meat was served out to all hands which is a very acceptable change to them after the pease on which they have been living chiefly for some time.

Where we are no wencamped is a small bay[15] of Puget's Sound. Notwithstanding that the tide rises about 6 feet yet the water is not very salt; it can only be called brackish. As the little river that falls into it here is inconsiderable, probably several little rivers discharge themselves into the bay at no great distance.

Two Indian houses of the Halloweena tribe are close by, their inhabitants are living on salmon which comes up this little bay.

MONDAY, 6TH

Overcast, rain, cold weather, wind Northerly. Foggy in the morning.

At daylight the people went off to the boats which they brought to the end of the portage and at 9 o'clock we embarked and proceeded down the bay about 25 miles in the following courses: 4 miles N. N. W., 4 N. E., 3 N., 2 N. N. E., 2 N., 2 E. by S., 3 N .E. by E., 3 E., and 2 N. N. E., mostly along the S. E. shore, through narrow channels formed by islands or points Passed three deep bays or narrows formed by islands on the West side and on the S. E. side. In the evening passed the Nisqually River which falls in from the the E. into a pretty large bay. The shores are steep and bold compounded of clay, a gravel and covered with wood, principaly pine, to the water's edge. In several places the wood appears pretty clear and not much chocked with underwood. Put ashore a short time at noon to join the boats. Here we found plenty of musels, which were the only shellfish we found although the shells of several other kinds such as oysters and different kinds of cockles were along the shores in plenty, another kind of fish in a curious shape was also in plenty, this

[15]Eld Inlet. If Budd Inlet why no mention of the Chutes or Falls that have made Olympia famous?

is a shapeless animal with long toes joined together in the middle, it seems to be in a torpid state and scarcely to move, it is covered with a crust or hard skin of reddish colour.

Passed a house of the Halloweena tribe, also saw two Indians in a canoe.

Encamped in the evening near 4 o'clock on a sandy point; very little fresh water.

TUESDAY, 7TH

Wind Easterly. Overcast cold weather, foggy in the morning.

Embarked at ½ past 7 o'clock and proceeded 3 miles N. E., 6 E. and 26 North, in all 35 miles. Encamped at 4 o'clock in the evening. Our course lay through narrow channels about ½ mile wide and some wide openings formed by traversing bays and channels formed by islands and points. Passed a channel and two bays on the W. side and two bays and a channel on the E. side, the last of the bays receives the Qualax[16] River. Stopped at another little river where there was a village[17] of the Nisqually Nation consisting of six houses, these are miserable habitations constructed of poles covered with mats, we were detained 1½ hours at this village, getting two men and a woman, wife to one of them, to act as interpreters and guides for us. The men are both of the Sanahomis tribe[18] and are not intelligible to any of our party, neither do they well understand us but they, at least one of them, understands the language of the Coweechins which is the name of the tribe at the entrance of what is supposed to be Fraser's River. The woman speaks and understands the Chenook language pretty well and is to interpret to the men. Two canoes with 8 Indians passed our encampment in the evening, and when it was dark the Indians visited our camp, these people are from the Interior and belong to the.....

The Nisqualy Indians speak a language different from any we have seen yet.

Where we are encamped is an island,[19] where we see the marks of some horses which the Indians have on it.

The appearance of the shores is much the same as yesterday, still bold and high, composed of clay and generally wooded to the water's edge. Where we encamped last night we found abundance of mussels at low water.

WEDNESDAY, 8TH

Some rain in the afternoon, wind Easterly.

16Puyallup River.
17Steilacoom; camped here again on return.
18Snohomish.
19Vashon Island (?).

We were on the water at 7 o'clock and made according to estimation a distance of 36 miles, N. 5 miles, W. 3, N. E. 5 and N. 23. We were 7¾ hours on the water, 3¾ of which we both sailed and paddled with mild breeze, we concluded that we made at least 5 miles per hour. We this day proceeded through a fine channel formed, as the others, by the main land and an island. Passed an opening on the E. side in the morning and on the same side a bay[20] into which the Linananimis River (flows). On the West side we came through the Soquamis Bay from which there is a small opening to the Westward. Where we are now encamped opposite to a wider channel or opening[21] which runs to the Westward (?), it is very deep with a number of islands in its north side and through its entrance. The channels through which we passed may be 3 or 4 miles wide, the shores appear the same as yesterday. We stopped at the Soquamis village situated in the bay[22] of the same name, it consists of 4 houses, we saw only 8 or ten men, but understand several of the inhabitants were off fishing. Our object in stopping here was to get the chief to accompany us as an interpreter, but he was not at home. The houses are build of boards covered with mats.

The country in general appearance the same as that through which we have already passed, the banks generally very high composed of clay or gravel and wooded generally to the water's edge, the timber seems not to be of a large growth. A ridge of high mountains covered with snow appeared some distance inland on the Eastern shore, two high mountains[23] were also seen covered with snow to the S. and S. E., another high one was also seen to the S. W.[24]

Thursday, 9th

Foggy in the morning. Wind Northerly, rain, cold weather.

Resumed our voyage at ½ past 7 o'clock and proceeded about 28 miles through a fine channel from 3 to 5 miles wide, formed by an island on the W. side and the main land and islands on the E. side. Our courses were as follows: N. N. E. 15 miles, W. N. W. 10 and N. N. W. 3. Passed the Sinnahamis[25] Bay which receives a river of the same name on the E. side, and on the same side the entrance of a bay or channel, here was also a small island on the same side in the entrance of the Sannihamis Bay. On the W. side of the channel we passed the entrance of a bay or channel and a small island in the entrance of Sanni-

20Probably Elliott Bay.
21Admiralty Inlet.
22Port Madison.
23Rainier and St. Helens.
24Evident error. Must refer to Mt. Baker.
25Snohomish.

hamis Bay. Where we are now encamped[26] is near a village of the Skaadchet[27] tribe, the smoke of two other villages of the same tribe appear at other situations around the Bay. During the forepart of the day the appearance of the country is much the same as yesterday, but towards evening it began to change considerably. The banks are still high but not so abrupt as before, the woods are getting in several places much thinner and sometimes plains were seen stretching down to the water's edge. A high ridge of snow topped mountains were still seen extending from nearly south to N. along the Eastern shore and some distant islands All the country hereabouts is represented by the Indians to abound with elk and deer.

In the afternoon passed a large house belonging to some of the Sannihamis tribe on the E. side of the channel, the inhabitants on our approach fled to the woods, but our interpreter called to some who were in a canoe and they brought back their friends. We went to this house and were treated by them with shell fish. All these tribes appear much alarmed on our approach and appear aimed to dispatch on landing, if they do not fly to the woods till they are informed of our friendly intentions. All strangers are considered by these as parties of neighboring tribes coming on war excursions. These people got some trifling presents.

One of our interpreters, being afraid to proceed any farther remained at this house where some of his friends resided. This man since he has been with us frequently boasted of his bravery and showed us how he would kill the Coweechins, the tribe who inhabit the entrance of the river of which we are in quest, and who are represented as a barbarous and wicked people. They are so wicked that the most of the Indians are unwilling to trust themselves among them even under our protection. However, the other interpreter and his wife are still bold enough to proceed.

A canoe with 10 men and a woman of the Scaadchet tribe met us in the evening and being assured of their safety by our guide, returned to where we encamped and are remaining with us all night.

Friday, 10th

Foggy in the morning and foggy with rain all the after part of the day. Wind northerly.

Embarked at ¼ past 7 o'clock and proceeded 3 miles N. N. W., 5 N. by W., 5 N. N. W., 2 N. W., 10 N. N. W., and 11 N. W., in all 36 miles. Our course lay first round a point to one of the Scaadchet vil-

[26]On Camano Island along Saratoga Passage.
[27]Irish name for Skagit.

lages,[28] then across a deep bay[29] and through a narrow winding channel[30] to another larger bay,[31] down which we proceeded to an island[32] at its entrance where we encamped at ½ past 4 o'clock. This was the only place within our reach where water could be found according to our guides. The appearance of the country is very much changed, the shores are much bolder and of rock, the islands are also rocky with apparently very little earth and clothed with trees of a stunted growth.

Last night a young man, son to the Scaadchet Chief, was engaged to accompany the party as a guide and interpreter, and principally for the purpose of introducing us to strangers whom we may pass. He accordingly embarked with us, and shortly efter we were met by some people in canoes who informed him that a war party from a neighboring tribe had surprised one of the villages and slain one of his friends in the night. A kind of howling was set up and we proceeded to the village which was on our way where a short stay was made till our guide got some things for his wife, when we continued across the bay, in the meantime the Indians had collected from the different villages and followed us in five canoes to the number of 55 men armed with bows and arrows, spears, bludgeons and a few guns. Not knowing what their intentions might be our party placed their arms beside them in readiness, however, the Indians said they were going to get news of the murder which turned out to be a false report. A present of a knife and a looking glass was made to each of their principal chiefs with which they seemed well satisfied. Two of the chiefs, the father of the young man already mentioned, and another volunteered to accompany us and their offer was accepted and they embarked, all the others returned.

The Scaadchet are fine looking Indians. They are not so flat headed as the Chenooks. They go quite naked except a blanket about their shoulders, many use in lieu of blankets little cloaks made of feathers or hair. The bay in which they reside is a handsome place. Passed 12 houses belonging to these people on the E. side of our road, not far separated, and in the opposite side of the bay I counted at least 12 houses in a village, besides which at a great distance, the smoke of two other villages appeared.

A ridge of mountains[33] covered with snow extended from S. E. to N. W. at some distance from the Eastern shore, the intervening space seemed to be a flat country well wooded. In the after part of the day approached considerably nearer the shore and the country became much more hilly, even every island of any size rose to a little hill in its centre. The

28At Utsalady?
29Skagit Bay.
30Slough between Fidalgo Island and La Conner Flats.
31Padilla Bay.
32Vendoli or Lummi Island.
33Cascade Range.

Indians represent this country as abounding in elk, even the islands are said to be well stocked with these animals. The main land appears well for beaver and the Indians say they are numerous.

SATURDAY, 11TH

Overcast showery weather, wind Easterly.

Proceeded on our voyage at ½ past 7 o'clock and continued to ½ past 12 where we encamped in consequence of having a very wide traverse to make which it was deemed unsafe to attempt as the weather appeared unsettled and the sea appeared to be running high in the middle of the traverse. The distance made was 15 miles N. W. by W. and 7 miles N. W. along the main shore. The wind being favorable we sailed most of the time with a fine breeze. Passed several islands[34] to the Westward but at a great distance, there was also what appeared to be a chain of hills to the Westward farther off than the islands but on account of the haziness of the weather we could not well distinguish whether they were hills or other islands. Saw two large channels, one[35] running to the S. W. and the other[36] to the West. On the East passed a small island in the morning, then two points[37] and a small bay close[38] to where we encamped which is in the entrance of another bay. The appearance of the country has again changed, the shore still continues high and steep but instead of rocks are composed of clay and wooded to the water's edge, and the woods seem not to be much chocked up with underwood.

Immediately when we put ashore Pierre Charles went to hunt and shortly returned having killed 3 elk and a deer.

SUNDAY, 12TH

Overcast stormy weather in the morning and moderate in the after part of the day, sleet and weighty rain in the night.

The weather being too rough to attempt the traverse this morning, and part of the people having to be sent for the meat which was killed yesterday, we did not decamp today.

The people who were sent for the meat arrived with it in the afternoon. The great number of tracks seen by the hunters indicated that elk are very numerous about this place.

MONDAY, 13TH

Overcast, wind N. Easterly, a little wind in the forepart of the day but nearly calm afterward.

34Orcas, San Juan, etc., Islands.
35Rosario Straits.
36Channel de Haro.
37Sandy and Whitehorn Points.
38Samiamoo Bay.

Embarked at half past 7 o'clock and set out with the intention of crossing the traverse, but had gone but a short way when it was thought too rough to proceed, though there was not much wind. The course was, therefore changed and the boats crossed the entrance of the little bay in which we had been encamped and continued along the main shore to another bay[39] down which they proceeded to the entrance of a small river[40] up which they continued about 7 or 8 miles, in a very winding course which was in general N. Easterly. Encamped at ½ past 3 o'clock.

The point above mentioned[41] to which it was intended to cross in the morning is represented by the Indians to form the entrance of the Coweechan River (which is supposed to be the same with Fraser's), on the S. E. side it projects far out to sea and appears like an island but seems to be joined to the mainland which is very low by a sandy ridge which probably may be covered at high water, immense flocks of plover were observed flying about the sand. The distance to this point might be about 10 miles. Sand appears at a distance beyond the point.

The reason for proceeding up the little river was the Indians representing that by making a portage there was a road this way into the Coweechin River, but they said it was very bad and seemed most desirous to go by the point. The navigation of the little river is very bad, after getting a short distance up it was often barred up with driftwood which impeded our progress, the Indians had cut roads through it for their canoes yet they were too narrow for our boats. Farther up it is nearly closed up with willows so uncommonly thick that it was both laborious and tedious to get the boats dragged through them. It is yet some distance to the portage. The appearance of the country round the bay from which we started this morning round to the point, appears low and flat, the bay appears to be shallow. In the river nothing but thick willows are seen for some distance from the water, where the banks though low are well wooded with pine, cedar, alder and some other trees. There are the appearance of beaver being pretty numerous in this river. Where we are now encamped is a pretty little plain. Two Indian boys were found in a lodge a little above our encampment, they were treatedly kindly and allowed to depart. No information of any importance was got from them. Our Indian and they understand each other, but our interpreter so imperfectly understood the Indians who accompanied us that the information required on the most important points is very unsatisfactorily obtained.

[39]Boundary Bay.
[40]Nikomeckl River.
[41]Point Roberts.

TUESDAY, 14TH

Overcast, very weighty rain in the after part of the day.

It being found that the boats could proceed no farther up the river, carrying was commenced in the morning and the boats and baggage carried 3,970 yards which is a little more than half of the portage. This portage which is to another little river which falls into Coweechin River, lies through a plain[42] which with the weighty rain is become so soft and miry, that in several places it resembles a swamp. The road is very miry and every hollow is a pool of water. The soil here appears to be very rich, is a black mould, the remains of a luxurious crop of fern and grass lies on the ground. The country about here seems low, the trees are of different kinds, pine, birch, poplar, alder, etc., some of the pine of a very large size. Some of the men who were hunting visited the upper part of the little river and report that they saw the appearance of plenty of beaver. Elk have been very numerous here some time ago but the hunters suppose that since this rainy season they have gone to the high ground.

WEDNESDAY, 15TH

Raining all day with the exception of some short intervals of fair weather.

The people resumed their labour at an early hour and by the evening had the boats and baggage at the end of the portage, a distance of 3,930 yards which makes the whole length of the portage 7,910 yards N. N. E. The appearance of the country the same as described yesterday.

In the evening as we got to the end of the portage a herd of elk was seen on the edge of the plain. Several of the people set after them but only one was killed which was by Mr. McKay. There were too many hunters and though the elk were not wild they were not approached with sufficient caution, they were followed into the woods by some of the people who have not yet returned.

These Indians came to us in the afternoon. They are of the Cahoutetts Nation. They differ little in appearance from the Indians who accompany us, their blankets are of their own manufacture and made of hair or coarse wool on which they wear a kind of short cloak made of the bark of the cedar tree, it has a hole in the middle through which the head passes, it extends to below the shoulders and breast and has an opening left on each side to leave the arms unconfined. The only arms observed with these were bows and arrows. Their language differs from that of our Indians but they understand each other. The only information obtained from them was that their tribe was in detached parties in their winter quarters in the little river, that the large river was not far off.

42Langley Prairie.

THURSDAY, 16TH

Rain in the night and except some short intervals, raining all day. Calm.

We were detained waiting for A. Aubutu, Thos. Taranton and Louis who went after the elk yesterday and did not return till late this morning, till 11 o'clock when we embarked and proceeded down the little river[43] from the portage through a very winding course, generally North, for a distance of about 8 miles to its discharge into the Coweechin[44] River, up which we proceeded about 2 miles E. and encamped at 2 o'clock.

The navigation of the little river is pretty good in some places it is rather shallow, the tide runs a little way up it. The country through which it runs is flat and clayey. In some parts near the portage the woods approach to the water's edge, but farther down the woods are at some distance and the river runs through a fine meadow which is covered with the withered remains of a fine crop of hay. The marks of a great many beaver and numerous tracks of elk some quite fresh are to be seen all the way along the river.

We entered the Coweechin River at 1 o'clock. At this place[45] it is a fine looking river at least as wide as the Columbia at Oak Point, 1,000 yards wide. Where we come into it is opposite to an island[46] we are uncertain which what distance it may be to its entrance. The banks of the N. shore are low and those on the South shore are pretty high, both well wooded to the water's edge. The trees are pine, cedar, alder, birch and some others. Some high hills appear to the Eastward at no great distance, topped with snow.

From the size and appearance of the river there is no doubt in our minds that it is Fraser's.

The men who went after elk yesterday evening killed 2 but brought very little of the meat home and it was thought that too much time would be lost by sending for it.

FRIDAY, 17TH

Overcast, wind Northerly, sharp, cold weather.

Embarked at 8 o'clock and proceeded up the river 4 miles E. N. E. to an island[47] which divides it into two channels, then up the N. channel 1 mile E. N. E. and 1 mile E. to the head of the island, 4 miles E. S. E. here the river is again divided into 2 channels by an island[48] 1 mile E.

43Salmon River.
44Fraser River.
45Future site of Fort Langley.
46McMillan Island.
47Crescent Island.

through a channel between two small islands[48] situated in the N. channel, 1½ miles E. N. E. and 1½ E. to the head of the island, then 3 miles N. N. E. and 1 mile E. to the entrance of a small river[49] North where we encamped. The river still keeps its breadth, the shores in the forepart of the day had a moderate ascent and thickly wooded to the water's edge, farther on the banks were lower and wooded in some places principally with poplar, behind these the land rises in hills which appear to be chiefly clothed with pine and cedar. The banks were in many places composed with clay that has been deposited by the water. A high mountain[50] covered with snow appeared to the S. W. in the morning and shortly after a ridge also topped with snow was extending from N. W. to N. E. Two peaks[51] in this ridge are very high, as we are approaching these mountains the country is getting hilly, some of the hills are high and close to the shore.

In the forepart of the day we saw an Indian lodge in a little bay on the N. side of the river. Our Indians were sent ahead to apprise the inhabitants of our approach and good intentions which prevented them from being alarmed. This was a miserable habitation formed of plank, both sides and roof, the usual appendages of Indian houses filth and nastiness were here in abundance, and the smell of the remains of decayed salmon was very offensive. In number 22, 7 men, 7 women and 8 children. Nevertheless, the inhabitants appeared healthy and seemed to have plenty of dried salmon provided. Our Indians were understood by these people, yet we got very little information from them. We learned that they got some fine European articles in traffic from tribes above whom obtained them from White people. The Indians got a few presents when we left them at 2 and 2 of them accompanied us in a canoe.

A village is a short way up the river where we are encamped. An Indian went to it where (one) of them remained all night, the other returned when it was dark with 3 of the Indians who stayed a short time and went off with the intention, as we understood, of paying a formal visit tomorrow.

At the house below there was an instrument resembling in shape a salmon spear, but what purpose it is used for, its size leaves me at a loss to determine, it was 2 poles about 5 inches in circumference fitted in such a manner that they were intended to be spliced together, one of the was 42 feet long and the other 29, in all about 71 feet, it was of cedar neatly dressed, a fork made of 2 pieces of wood different from the pole and not

[48]Matsqui Indian Reserve Islands.
[49]Now Hatzic Slough, two miles above Mission Station.
[50]Mt. Baker.
[51]Cheam Peaks.

barked nor made very sharp was fixed to the end of the pole, no cordage any other tackling was about it.

SATURDAY, 18TH

Rained without intermission all night and all day, very little wind from the N. E.

About 9 o'clock 47 men 3 women and 1 boy of the Cahantitt Indians (which is the name of the tribe that inhabit the village above where we were encamped) visited us in a friendly manner. Some presents were given them consisting of a fish hook to each of the common men and a looking glass and a little vermillion to each of 3 or 4 chiefs. A few beaver skins were also purchased from one of these chiefs for a couple of axes and a few beads. These Indians, though of the same tribe, are much more intelligent than those we saw yesterday.

A new blanket, two guns, a pair of trousers and a few other European articles, some of them very old and worn out, were in the possession of these people. These articles we understood were received in battle from tribes farther up the river and that they had passed from white people through several tribes before that. A good deal of information was received from these people respecting the river. A little boy presented to the chief to forward to Thompson's River, he mentioned not fewer than 15 tribes, 8 on the south and 7 on the North side of the river, through whose hands it must pass before it reached the Forks. He named the Suswhaps and some other tribes whose names we know.

The chief of this tribe is a fine tall good looking man, but his people are of low stature. The men have generally bierds, all their heads are a little flatted. Their clothes consisted of blankets of their own manufacture, some white and some grey or of black with variegated beads of different colours mostly red and white. They wore mats to keep off the rain and conical hats.

On account of our short stay we could observe nothing respecting their manners or mode of living of these people. They offered some roasted sturgeon for sale which shows that those fish were in the river, but of their mode of taking them we know nothing. Our Indian guide understood them and was understood also. The language they speak has some little resemblance to the Okanagan.

On the arrival of the Indians at our camp this morning we learned that the Scaadchet chief who went to visit them yesterday had deserted in the night.

Mr. McMillan having determined to retire deeming it unnecessary to proceed farther up the river, we embarked past noon and retired to the camp which we left yesterday.

SUNDAY, 19TH

Cloudy fair weather, wind S. E. blowing fresh in the evening. Poured down rain all night.

Embarked at 7 o'clock and proceeded town the river about 27 miles, viz., W. 4 miles down the N. channel formed by the island opposite where we entered the river on the 16th. Another small island is at the lower end of this one, then W. N. W. 2 miles, S. W. by W. 2 miles, W. by N. 2 miles, along the N. side of an island[52] 4 miles W. by S. At the lower end of this course there is a bay with an island[53] in its entrance. On the N. side of the river W. S. W. 3 miles, a small island is in the N. side of the river just below the bay. S. by W. 3 miles[54] about the middle of this course there is a bay and an island on the W. side of the river and immediately below the river is divided into two channels by an island,[55] proceeded down the E. one. 1 mile S. W. by S. and 4 miles W. S. W. During the day the river maintained its wideness till towards evening when its breadth considerably increased. Some places the banks are elevated at the water's edge but in general they are low and the land rising into hills a short distance from the shore, towards evening the shores on both side of the river became low and swampy. The trees observed on the shores are pine, cedar, plane, alder and some others, the alder principally occupies the low ground. Where we are now encamped[56] is not far from the entrance of the river, the country is so very swampy and liable to be overflowed with the tide that we had to turn back some distance to our present situation which, though the site of an old village, is a quagmire.

Four canoes containing 17 Indians of the Cahotitt tribe met us, among them was the principal chief of the tribe and a second chief named . We put ashore and had some conversation with them by the help of our interpreters, they were informed of the motive of our visit and seemed highly pleased. A chief's clothing was presented to the old man and a com. coat to the young one, besides a few other trifling articles. Some beaver skins were also traded from them. These people are of low stature their heads are a little flattened and the old men gererally have beards. The old chief seems to be marked with the small pox, and is a smart looking little man though pretty old. The young one is much stouter and a good looking man. This village was at some distance up a river which falls into the bay.

52Barnston Island.
53Mouth of Pitt River and Douglas Island.
54Now passing in front of New Westminster.
55Annacis Island.
56Probably opposite Tilbury Island.

We saw another canoe with three Indians in it but they would not approach us.

A pair of old blankets and an old knife were the only European articles observed among these people, they seemed to have no arms, their clothing was blankets of their own manufacture.

Though we saw but very few Indians yet they must be very numerous about this river at particular seasons of the year. We passed the site of several old villages, the one where we are now encamped extends at least ¾ of a mile along the shore, while passing it I counted 54 houses but on coming near they are found to be so situated that not more than the ½ of them were counted.

Monday, 20th

Overcast mild weather with fog and slight showers of rain forenoon, cleared up afterwards and became a fine sunshining day. Light wind from the E. and N. E.

Embarked at ¼ before 7 o'clock and continued our course down the river S. by W. 6 miles and W. by S. 5 miles through one of the principal channels which is at least yards wide to its discharge into the sea. There were two other channels on the south side and a large one supposed to be on the N. side. The channel through which we came was sounded in several places towards its dicharge and found to be from 7 to 3½ fathoms about high water. The land about the entrance of the river is very low and swampy with some few scattered pines of a small size and bushes. A ridge of pretty high land appears at some distance on the N. side of the river, that on the N. E. side is a low narrow strip which divides the river from the sea. The sea on each side of the entrance of this River appears to be shallow.

From the entrance of the river the boats proceeded along the outside of the low strip of land S. E. by S. 2 miles, S. E. by E. 5 miles to near a point of high land along which we continued 4 miles S. S. E., 1 S. S. E., 3 E. N. E. and 1 N. E. to its outward extremity, then across the open sea to the E. side of a bay on the northern shore E. by N. 6 miles, E. S. E. 4 and E. 4. The point above mentioned is Vancouver's Pt. Roberts, part of the shore along which we passed is low clothed with grass and bushes and has a pleasing appearance. Towards the outer end the shore is bold and composed of clay with some rocks along the water's edge, at the very lower end is a low point of considerably extent entirely covered with an old Indian village. Where we are now encamped is the Birch Bay of Vancouver.

Vancouver's Island and the islands in the E. channel between it and the main shore appeared quite plain and in many places rises into high hills. Also along the main shore to the Northward, the land could be seen distinctly a strip of low flat ground extends some distance from the shore and is surrounded by a ridge of high mountains covered with snow, extending as far as the eye can reach along the coast both to the S. E. and to the N. W. Some of the peaks are very high, some pretty high hills are also to be seen which are green and have no snow on them.

Saw a canoe with six Indians near the entrance of the river, on being called to by our Indian they approached to within a short distance of the boats but could not be prevailed upon to come nearer. On some further conversation with our Indian they pulled ashore to bring their chief who had landed, but the boats pushed on and did not wait for them. These people are of the Coweechin tribe and had just crossed from Vancouver's Island where they now live. They did not approach near enough for us to distinguish anything of their dress or appearance, they were armed with long spears.

On the low land at the entrance of the River geese, particularly white ones, were very numerous and were by no means shy, they allowed themselves to be approached easily. Mr. McKay killed 3 of them.

Tuesday, 21st

Clear stormy weather in the night with a slight frost. Cloudy sunshining weather during the day. Light wind from the N. W.

Embarked at 6 o'clock and encamped at 2. Our course was back along the same track through which we passed on the 10th and 11th inst., viz. 12 miles S. E. by E., 5 miles S. E. by E., 9 miles S. E. by S., 5 miles S. E., and 3 miles S. E. to the entrance [57] of the narrow channel. The wind was favourable and the sails were up part of the day, but it was so light that they were of little service.

Wednesday, 22nd

Showery weather, wind S. Easterly.

Embarked at 4 o'clock and after getting out of the little channel which was S. E. 6 or 7 miles, proceeded E. S. E. across a bay about 10 miles to the entrance of a narrow shallow channel[58] through which we proceeded 2 miles S. S. E. into a fine bay[59] up which we continued S. S. E. 12 miles to the head of an island on the right hand, it was down

[57] Swinomish Slough at La Conner.
[58] Davis Slough at Stanwood.
[59] Port Susan.

the E. side of this island[60] we passed on the 9th inst. From this island our course was S. by E. The entrance of bay to the Westward and the channel to Scaadchet Bay to the Westward, then S. by E. 10 miles to a point in the main shore[61] on Eastern side of channel opposite a wide channel[62] that falls in from the Westward.

In the morning passed a lodge of Scaadchet Indians, here I counted about the house and in the door 17 persons. From these people we learned that the chiefs who deserted from us on the inst. have not yet arrived. Afterwards we passed a village of the Sannihamis tribe of 3 houses on island. A canoe with 4 men came off to us. They were presented with 3 brass rings each and a knife and pin of tobacco sent to one of their chief men.

The road we have pursued the after part of the day is through the same track we passed on the inst.

Where we are now encamped is at a little brook and though it is scarcely large enough to get a kettle of water drawn from it, yet there are the marks of beaver in it, their cuttings are carried down by the current.

THURSDAY, 23RD

Stormy with weighty showers of rain in the night. Stormy with almost continual heavy rain all day. Wind S. E.

It being too stormy in the morning, we did not embark till 11 o'clock when it became a little moderate. Our course was along the Eastern shore S. by E. 12 to 15 miles to 2 o'clock when we put ashore[63] it being too rough to proceed.

Two canoes of the Soquamis tribe which were proceeding to the Northward along the opposite shore crossed over to us. One of them accompanied us a short way but the others could not get across in time. They soon both pursued their journey under sail. These crafts seem adapted to stand more sea than our boats.

FRIDAY, 24TH

Stormy and weighty rain in the night and cold cloudy fair weather afterpart of the day.

Embarked a little after 4 o'clock in the morning and encamped at 2 o'clock in the afternoon at Sinoughtons, our guides' village which is called Chilacoom.[64] It was stormy in the morning but pretty moderate afterwards. Our course all day was about S. by E. 44 miles, we are now resting in the same track we pursued on our way going.

60Whidby Island.
61Meadow Point, north of Ft. Lawton.
62Port Madison.
63Near Three Tree Point.
64Steilacoom again and source for the name.

SATURDAY, 25TH

Showery in the night and weighty rain the greater part of the day. Wind S. E.

Embarked at 4 o'clock and reached the portage at 10 where the people immediately commenced carrying and had the boats and baggage more than half across the portage at night. On account of the heavy rain the road is much more wet and miry than we passed last, yet we got on more expeditiously as the road is cleared.

One of our boats was left at Sinoughtons village and the crew and baggage embarked in the other two.

Last night Sinoughton was paid for his services and seemed well satisfied.

SUNDAY, 26TH

Wind South Easterly. Very weighty rain in the night and raining the most of the day.

At daylight the business of carrying was resumed and by 11 o'clock we were embarked on the Scaadchet Lake[65] and pursued back the same road which we went on the to 4 o'clock where we encamped on a plain on the side of the river opposite the Halloweena village.

Passed two Indian houses on the S. E. side of the Scaadchet Lake of the Halloweena Nation.

MONDAY, 27TH

Sharp frost in the night. Fair weather with fog. Wind Southerly.

Our party divided.[66] Mr. McMillan, I, Michel, the Interpreter and 6 men to proceed across land to the Cowlitch River and thence to the Fort by water. Messrs. McKay, Annamour and the rest of the people to go with the boats the same way we came. A man went ahead yesterday to procure horses from the Indians. It was noon today when he returned with the information that they were to be had. The boats then proceeded on their route down the River and we crossed a fine plain[67] about 6 miles to the Halloweena Village, but the Indians not being able to get the horses collected, we had to encamp close by for the night.

The plain on which this village is situated has a very pleasing appearance, it is of considerable extent bounded on every side by woods, principally pine, with here and there oak trees thinly scattered over the plain. The soil is composed of gravel mixed with a small quantity of rich

[65] Impossible to reconcile this designation. It is Black Lake on present day maps.

[66] Near Gate station on Northern Pacific Railroad.

[67] Probably Grand Mound Prairie.

black mould. The surface is covered with a scanty crop of short grass and fern.

TUESDAY, 28TH

Sharp frost in the night and foggy during the day.

Having procured the horses and got everything ready, started on our journey at 8 o'clock and encamped at 4 in the evening. The people found such difficulty in dividing up the loaded horses that it was quite dark before some of them reached the camp, the men got so tired with one of the horses that they left him and carried his load themselves.

Our course was nearly S. E. about 25 miles. The road lay through plain and points of woods alternately. In the morning the road through the plains was very good but in the woods it was very bad and ran over two pretty high hills, it is very wet and miry and so slippery in places that the horses can scarcely keep their feet, and though it is a common Indian road they are so lazy that they will not remove the branches and fallen trees out of the way, which is often nearly obstructed by them, and the miserable horses with difficulty climb over the trees. The road was crossed by two pretty large rivers and several small streams some of which are now pretty much being swelled with the heavy rain, all these streams run to the S. W. As we advance the plains are of a small size, they are wetter than the large ones and the soil seemes better having a greater proportion of black earth mixed with the gravel, the crop of grass and fern seems to have been more luxurious. In the woods the trees are pine of different kinds, some of a large size, cedar, plane, alder and some others, besides several bushes of willows and a kind of crab tree. The soil in the woods seems to be richer than that in the plains.

Passed an Indian house of the Halloweena Nation.

WEDNESDAY, 29TH

Frost in the night. Cloudy fair weather during the day.

Proceeded on our journey at 7 o'clock and by 11 arrived at the Cowlitch River, it was 12 before all the people arrived. The course was still about S. E. 10 or 12 miles and lay through alternate plains and woods the same as yesterday.[68] Some small streams crossed the road, the Nisqually and Cowlitch mountains appeared in the morning, the former to the N. E. and the latter to the E.

A canoe was hired from the Indians to carry us to the Fort, but when we had embarked it was found too small and another had to be hired and at ½ past 12 we pushed off and fell down the river and reached

[68]The trail this and the preceding day follows closely the present line of Northern Pacific Railroad through Centralia, Chehalis and to point on Cowlitz River near Toledo, where later the Cowlitz Farm of H. B. Co. was located.

the Columbia near 7 o'clock. The Cowlitch is in general from 40 to 50 yds. wide, the current very strong above but slack as it discharges into the Columbia. The banks are in some places bold and high at other places not so elevated, the high bank is in general clothed with pine of different kinds and cedar, and the lower ones with alder, ash and other desiduous trees. The general course of the River, which is very winding, appears to be about S. W. A large branch falls in from the Southward, beside several small streams from both sides. The upper part of the river is very populous, I counted 30 houses to the Forks, all built of planks.

THURSDAY, 30TH

Frost in the night. Blowing fresh the forepart of the day with weighty rain in the afternoons.

Put ashore to sup at 8 o'clock last night and after supping embarked and continued under way all night and arrived at the Fort at 10 o'clock in the morning. The wind being pretty fresh in the night caused a swell that was just enough for our canoes to pass through with safety, the swell increasing about Teague Point we took in a good deal of water before we got ashore at the portage, but the wind being then off the land we got safely to the Fort. The little canoe had to put ashore in the night and did not arrive till the afternoon.

DOCUMENTS

[Though the editor now has a wealth of materials for publication in this department of the Washington Historical Quarterly, he always welcomes suggestions or copies of unprinted manuscript documents.]

The original journal of Dr. William Fraser Tolmie was deposited by the family in the Provincial Library of British Columbia at Victoria. There several copies were made, from one of which the following portion of the journal is printed. A visit was made to the above named library to check carefully the copy with the original, but it was found that Dr. Tolmie's son had withdrawn the original for his own studies. Comparison was then made with copies held by Clarence B. Bagley of Seattle and by George H. Himes of the Oregon Historical Society. It was then ascertained that the original copy had been blurred in spots by moisture. It is believed that the following record is as accurate as is possible to obtain. —[Editor.]

JOURNAL OF WILLIAM FRASER TOLMIE—1833

Tuesday, April 30. Off Cape Disappointment, (no sight) at noon 8 air 49, 29, 97 raining W. S. W. 12—49—29—94 rainy 63—14—49 S. E. by E. A few moments after, the summits of the hills appeared dimly seen, distant about 40 miles. At 9 it became clearer, the land was distinctly seen on either side, presenting a series of low undulating hills alternating with flats, and the whole supported a luxuriant growth of tall trees.

It seemed to us as if we were entering a firth or estuary. Large flocks of wild ducks closely agminated flying overhead and smaller ones skimming the surface of the foaming billows. A prodigious number of other birds almost darkening the air ahead actively engaged in the pursuit of prey, large masses of seaweed abundantly scattered about, perhaps affording them a supply of crustaceous and molluscous meals. Our position being uncertain, lay to and dropped the deep sea lead which reached a sandy bottom at 25 fathoms. The mate then declared his opinion that we were to northward of the Cape, and the Captain acquiescing wore the ship and steered S. E. at 10.....

Came on deck at 1. Cape Disappointment had just been recognized a quarter of an hour before bearing North by East and the C. tracked and steered for it having been mistaken in the supposition that we were to the northward of it. Examined the chart executed by the late Captain Simpson of the entrance to the Columbia River, and at 1½ went up to the foretopsail yard where the mate pointed out the different localities, and

land was perceptible from N. to S. E. and Cape Disappointment for which we steered bore N. W. about 12 miles distant. It is a bluff, wooded promonitory, and the contiguous land of same character (that of a rolling country) stretches away to N. or N. by W. beyond which the sea again appears and the coast receding from Baker Bay to the eastward of the Cape, the land from N. to N. N. E. has an insulated appearance, which is heightened by your perceiving a higher range of hills immediately behind the Cape continues with those extending toward S. E. Chenooke Point, bearing about N. E. by E. was distinguished by a triangular yellow patch on an adjoining hill which the gloomy aspect of the surrounding forest made conspicuous. Here the line of coast was again broken and Point Adam was seen bearing about E. low, flat, and clad with trees; becoming gradualy elevated until it terminated in a line of wooded hills which the eye could follow as far as the S. E. point. The summits of the hills did not jut out into sharp conical peaks as at Oahu, but were smooth and rounded. From the top sailyard I could see the N. and S. breakers rising impetuously over the bar, and when we were within about three miles we could perceive them from the deck. At 2 the C. thought it prudent to stand out to sea, and it was fortunate, as the atmosphere soon after became more dense, and the breeze stronger, and the perilous run would have been made under very unfavorable circumstances. . . . .

In entering, the chief danger consisted in passing between the Cape and the South Spit, a narrow point which runs off from the Middle Grounds, which name was applied to that part of the bar above water. The channel is narrow and the depth of water only four fathoms. In passing between Middle Ground and Chenooke Point you are between Scylla and Charybdis, having on the left Chenooke shoal, and on the right the N. Spit to alarm you.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 1ST

Fort George, 6 p. m.

Up at 7, and going on deck found that the Gannymede was making for the Cape with a favorable breeze from S. or S. E. The morning was beautiful, and ahead could be seen the north breakers sparkling in the sunshine and overspread with a thin vapor. We were about the same distance from the Cape as when we stood out yesterday, and distinctly viewed the hills in the interior on which the hazy mists of night were still lagging, especially in the clefts or ravines. The C. once or twice hesitated from the furious breaking of the sea over the bar, but the smooth surface presented by the channel at other times reinspired him with courage, and we stood in and passed within 150 yards of the Cape at 8½, and at 9 were sailing across Baker's Bay in safety. In entering, could see land to a considerable distance northward of the Cape Peninsula. It was flat and wooded. The Cape is a steep, precipitous crag about 200 feet high, its sides grassy and shrubby and summit crested with pines. The coast for nearly a mile to the N. is of a similar description, hills pineclad on [to?] summits, with their sides bulging out into grassy knolls or mounds, and intersected with small ravines which were adorned with richer verdure.

In Baker's Bay the water was as smooth as glass bordered by a sandy

beach, and all around strewed with driftwood on its margin, the rising ground covered with pine. This spot appeared to me singularly beautiful, and from it I could view the dangerous breakers we had just passed with great complacency and thankfulness to Providence.....

At 10 boarded by a party of Chenooks off Point Ellice, one of whom, named George, offered himself as pilot. They were treated with biscuit and molasses and a glass of rum. At 11 Mr. Fisk, the person in charge of Fort George, arrived bringing the intelligence that Mr. Finalyson had set out in the Lama on the 12th ulto. to form a new settlement in the Russian territory to northward of Naase, that Dr. McLoughlin was at Ft. Vancouver with but very few assistants, that Mr. Douglas had accompanied the hunting party to New Caledonia, and is expected to return with them in June. Fort George seen from Point Ellice where the Ganymede lay at anchor did not much resemble its namesake in Scotland,—a few cottages perched on a green knoll close to beach with a small triangular space behind cleared, except the stumps, and all around it a trackless forest. Set out in Fisk's canoe for Fort George, distant six miles. Rather rough passage, got wetted, arrived at the Fort about 5, and occupied in drying clothes.....

The Fort is built on a rising ground at the head of a small creek or bay along the margin of which there are about half a dozen miserable looking wooden huts inhabited by Indians. About a gunshot from this are about the same number of comfortable looking cottages which constitute Fort George. Along the eminence goats were frisking about, browsing on rich but short clover grass. This steep space was laid out in cultivable lands. This is the original site of the Fort. Were shown a sable and beaver skin by Fisk. There is no arable land, but they have got a stock of goats and poultry..... At 7 our canoe was ready and we embarked. It was manned by five Indians, a Kanaka, and the Orkneyman.....

Thursday, May 2nd

12 p. m. Slept soundly and started out of a pleasant dream at 4½ this morning by John's shouting to rouse the Indians. Morning fine. On the densely wooded banks of opposite side, the mists are still hanging in graceful wreaths and heavy strata in the mountain valleys in the background. 8½. Saw several seals in first setting out. Their black heads bobbing up and down resembled small bouys, a heavy shower lasting for an hour came on at 6, but my extra cloak was armour of proof and I thank my stars that I had got a cloak instead of a heavy gray coat, for G. was put to many shifts to keep himself comfortable with a great coat cloak of gray plaid. The ample dimensions of my cloak enveloped me completely, and there being a layer of oilcloth between the [outer?] and inside lining, it was quite impervious to rain. The scenery along the banks has been of a monotonous character, a dense unbroken forest of pines covers them and the surrounding hills, the only interruption to this is where low sandy points project, these clothed with stunted willows and bushes, affording by their verdure a pleasant relief to the eye, tired with the sombre gloominess of the wilderness in the background. Where we slepted, viz. Tongue

Point, 6 miles above Fort George, the river was perhaps 5 miles broad, now it is nearly 3. Saw several low shoals or sand banks, few of them above high water mark, and in passing between them grounded once or twice. Large flocks of geese and ducks numerous, but never within shot. At an eagle perched on a decayed stump 30 yards off, G. fired and missed. The bird of Jove sprung up fluttering as if shaking himself, and then soared away majestically soon after. Four were seen at once hovering over the lofty pines. 10 a. m. Arrived at Kahelamit village where it was proposed to breakfast. 4 huts in a line and two others detached placed at the base of a pinacled ridge constituted the hamlet. Some Indians were hewing wood, others at work in canoes, but the greatest number [squatted?] in front of the dwellings. They had 6 fine salmon in a canoe, but superstitiously refused to sell any because they were the first caught this season, and it is their firm belief that if the first caught salmon are not roasted in a particular manner, the fish will desert the river. Tantalizing as it was had to proceed without any and since 9½ have held our course between some beautiful islets where the channel at times is less than 20 yards in width and obstructed by enormous trunks which in some cases nearly form a natural bridge and shoot up stout saplings all along their whole length, with great regularity, passed a canoe fastened to the trunk of a tree on the bank about five yards from margin, containing the ashes of a chenooke. The Indians call these sepulchres Neimulush elihe, "the Place of the Dead." Breakfasted at a sunny little cove under right bank and got away about twelve. Wrote part of yesterday's journal and afterwards chatted with John about Ft. V. 5 p. m. Have since 1 been running before a steady breeze from northwest, having a sort of toy sail set in fore part of canoe. Banks becoming more elevated, still invested with dark pines,—that on our right, however, low and flat for some distance up and enlivened by a bright green foliage of willow and aspens. It terminates about two miles ahead in a wooded knoll termed Oak Point which closes the prospect of the river and makes it appear very narrow. 6½. having coasted along, we are now at Oak Point Village, consisting of three groups of huts, three in each, procured from Yugher, the chief, a droll-looking character with a square pit in the extremity of his nose capable of containing a small pea and his front of upper jaw lashed down to stumps—a leg of venison in exchange for a small quantity of powder and shot. Channel of stream narrow, less than a quarter of a mile. Left bank steep and scraggy. Began to read Cowper's Table Talk. Metricle errors occur in almost every line, but the ideas are fine and seriously expressed. 9½ p. m. Have been paddling along in the merry moonlight and since it became too dark for reading have been rousing the echoes with Auld Lang Syne, &c. and indulging in corresponding train of ideas "On the land of Brown Heath and Shaggy Wood," "Land of the Mountain and the flood." Evening surpassingly beautiful. The blue concave is cloudless and lit up with the starry hosts. Venus has just sunk behind the western bank. Ursa Major is nearly on the meridian and the "pale empress of the night" is riding in full-orbed majesty about a demiquadrant above horizon and sheds her mellow beams on the mighty stream here shut in by its banks so as to appear like a broad unruffled lake. 10½. Now encamping on a small wooded

islet; a blazing wood fire disseminates light all around and the pots are boiling furiously. The Indians have just upset their's and are philosophically laughing at their mishap, and the wolves on opposite bank are howling in concourse.

Friday, May 3rd

Supped heartily last night on boiled venison; poor stuff. Wrote journal while fire emitted light sufficient and turned in at 1½, i. e. into tartan cloak; as it did not threaten rain, had no canopy of mats formed. Slept soundly till 5. Performed ablutions and started in half an hour. A dense fog stepped on the river but the blue sky overhead gave promise of a fine day and the sun appearing over opposite bank was slowly dispelling the mist. 8½. Have been coasting left bank and now arrived at Tawallish, a small lodge, near to which Keisno, the highest chief on river and his party are camped. The men are mostly clothed with blue capots, or great coats with a hood and are armed with knives, and their well polished muskets are ranged around a tree in military regularity. In front of hamlet, man, squaws and children are squatted. Keisno intends proceeding to the fort today. The mouth of Tawallish river, broad and open, appears a little above huts. Canoes going to Fraser's river ascend it. 9½. Have caught a snake 3 feet 6 inches long, 3½ inches in greatest circumference. 10½. Have come along right bank rugged and jutting out into bluffs adorned with saxifragas and sedums in flower. Overtaken and passed by two canoes from Tawallitch, the foreheads of all the inmates are flattened and their faces bedaubbed with a pigment of an ugly brownish red color. On a high bluff and also on a small rocky islet the habitations of the dead are very numerous. The chenooks seem to choose [places?] most difficult of access to deposit the remains of their defunct friends. The islet is called Coffin Isle. 11½. Have stopped in a pretty little creek to breakfast. Temperature of air 58 degrees. Kiesno has arrived in his canoe and received from [us] a small donation of cheshire cheese. 12½. Have breakfasted on the remainder of venison and picked the bones clean. All our stores except the salmon and a few potatoes are expended. Again afloat and paddling with renewed vigour. For several miles the edge of river is bordered with willows, aspens, birch, etc. The scenery assumes a softer character. Some very picturesque little bays and creeks reach the acme of sylan beauty, but the wild and savage pine exclusively occupies the ground becoming elevated. 3 p. m. Have been coasting along Deer Island since 1½ and its termination is fully a mile and a half ahead. Slender elegant-looking trees ornament its surface which is gradually elevated 20 or 30 feet above water. There are two parties of Indians encamped there fishing sturgeon. Saw one moored to a canoe at least 15 feet long. They had a long line set in the river floated by logs of wood at each [end] of line. They would not sell any sturgeon. 4 p. m. Cloudy, rainy appearance. Fired twice at an eagle but missed. Have just come in sight of a lofty mountain covered with eternal snow. It bears E. by S. and our course is about S. There is an extensive plain on easterly shore on which patches of oak are met with. 5½. Have been paddling for an hour reading Cowper's "Progress of Error." With the arrows of pol-

ished but cutting satire he attacks the modish follies of the day and rises to higher themes toward conclusion, addressing Lord Chesterfield, or rather his shade, under the name of Petronius, he condemns his epistles with just severity. Now at the mouth of the river which flows into Coulmbia in a S. W. by S. direction, the chief, Kiesno, lives on its banks and I now see his canoe a good way up, paddling homeward. McKay, a clerk retired from company service has settled 6 miles up. River nearly a quarter of a mile broad at mouth. Hills on left bank becoming higher and in the distance eastward a sugar loaf mountain seen last night to great advantage now rises in immaculate whiteness and buries its [acutely?] pointed summit in the cloud. Several flocks of geese seen flying to the north. A thin stratum of gray clouds veils the heavens. The water is smooth as a mirror and with equal fidelity reflects its leafy banks. 7¾. Now steering S. E. and for upwards of an hour have been assisted by gentle breeze. The eminence of background nearly excluded from view on right side by two parallel rows of dense bushy trees, which extend along for a considerable distance. Posterior now much taller than anterior. Shades of evening are now closing over us. 9 p. m. Have distributed brandy among the Indians and are now going to court "Nature's sweet restorer" in the bottom of canoe.

Saturday, May 4th

Fort Vancouver. Slept tolerably till 3 when reached our destined port after nearly an eight months' pilgrimage. Knocked at the gate which, after some delay, was opened by the gardener, who I at once discovered to be a Celt. Our approach being announced to Governor McLoughlin, he appeared in shirt and trousers on the staircase of the common hall and welcomed us with a cordial shake of the hand. Sat down in dining hall and while refreshments were being prepared, communicated the political intelligence of Europe to Mr. McL. who is an able politician. Messrs. Cowie and Allan, gentlemen stationed at the Fort, and Captain Duncan, commanding the schooner Vancouver, now appeared and a lively conversation was kept up till about 6 when we betook ourselves to eating with right good will, having fasted since yesterday at 11. Our fare was excellent, consisting of superb salmon, fresh butter and bread, tea, with [rich?] milk and mealy potatoes. Having done ample justice to the good things, chatted with the doctor, as he is called, till about 7, then visited garden. Young apples are in rich blossom and extensive beds sowed with culinary vegetables are layed out in nice order, and under a long range of frames melons are sown. Afterwards visited patients, which are pretty numerous, and have been divided between us. Sat down to breakfast at 8 and ate half a boiled salmon. After breakfast engaged in putting apothecary's Hall in some degree of order, visited and prescribed for my patients, and thus occupied till 12 when dinner was announced. After dinner wrote journal till nearly 4 when visited a woman with subacute [. . . .pleuestis?] In the evening putting apoth. hall, which is to be our temporary domicile, to rights, and am now, 10½, going to turn in. From what I have seen of Gov. like him and think my first propossessions will be confirmed by a longer acquaintance.

SUNDAY, MAY 5TH

Up at 6½ having slept soundly. Having conversed frankly with G. last night, proposed to him that we should reside permanently together in the present domicile as we should not then in all likelihood have intruders when arrivals of brigades occur. G. stated his wish that we should be separated, and from that we talked on our former differences and finally became reconciled, which am glad of, as it will add materially to our mutual comfort and happiness. Skinned snake caught on Friday. Read Bogatsky before breakfast. Afterwards visited patients and attended Episcopalian morning service read by Gov. in dining hall. The square was now occupied with upwards of 100 horses and Indians who are busy lasself besides a large cavalcade of Canadians and boys set out for Vancouver Plain by a road leading through a pine wood, the *navigation* of which was difficult. After half an hour's dangerous scrambling through brush and brake and stumps entered plain which extends for about 15 miles down river and is generally a mile in breadth. Its surface is diversified with ckumps of trees and lakes of water, and profusely bedecked with beautiful flowers, amongst which I noticed particularly a large species of lupin, a blue orchidous looking plant called kames and the root of which is baked under ground and eaten by the Indians. A great variety of others seen did not attract so much attention. Rich and luxuriant grass afforded abundant pasturage to three or four hundred cattle which in different herds were met with as we cantered along. At 1 p. m. reached a lake three or four miles in circumference, bordered by trees in full foliage. On its shares flocks of wild ducks feeding and swallows in thousands skimming its surface. Passed several smaller lakes in returning and met cavalcade of Canadians cantering along and [thence followed by?] The scene was now very animating. There were the Canadians, mostly dressed in blue capots, large glazed hats with a red military belt, and having their coal black hair dangling in profusion about their shoulders—wild, picturesque looking figures and their horses rougher and more shaggy than themselves. All around were herds of beautiful cattle, cropping the rich herbage or listlessly loitering under trees, horses, goats, etc., seen in every direction attending to the cravings of nature. On the banks wild ducks abundant, and now and then the solitary heron could be seen standing motionless in shallow water watching the motions of the [devoted?] minnows. Wood pidgeons started from a clump of trees in one large covey. In retraversing the pine wood, the Gov. pointed out to me a tall slender tree having a profusion of large *syngenesius* flowers called here devil's wood. Having been informed that the root was employed in the W. S. [or U. S.?] for the cure of intermittents, Mr. McL. used it here last season in doses of. . . . . dried root in powder and [had] success in subduing disease without cinchona too. Sugar maple also grows in this wood. Got home and dined about 2½. Afterwards looked over introduction to 1st No. of the Canton Miscellany begun in 1831. It is well written on the whole, though diffused and prosy. Rode out with Gov. and Cowie to see the farm which extends along the banks of river to east of Fort. There are several large fields of wheat and pease, and one of barley, with extensive meadows. Heard a low howling and approaching found a party of from 30 to 40 Indians, men, women, and

children, performing their devotions. They formed a circle two deep and went round and round, moving their hands as is done in [calling?], exerting themselves violently and simultaneously repeating a monotonous chant loudly. Two men were within the circle and kept moving rapidly from side to side making the same motion of arms, and were, I am told, the directors or managers of the ceremony. Having continued this exercise for several minutes after we beheld them, becoming more and more vehemently excited, they suddenly dropped on their knees and uttered a short prayer, and having rested a short time resumed the circular motion. During the ceremony so intent were they that not an eye was once turned toward us although we stood within a few yards in an encampment close by. Several persons were squatting around the fires. The dwellings formed of poles covered with skins looked very wretched. Felt a sensation of awe come over me when they knelt and prayed. The Gov. says that they have invited the Europeans in observing the S. as a day of rest. In the [eve?] visited the schooner Vancouver just rebuilt and now almost ready for sea. After tea talked with Gov. and G. on the reform bill, corn laws, etc. Have agreed with G. to have alternate days of taking patients under charge and to commence tomorrow. Or [tomorrow?] if we are spared to table and arrange medicines.

Monday, May 6th

Received intimation this morning at 4 of Plant's death. Mr. McL. did not think it advisable, when I spoke at breakfast, that body be inspected as from the force of Canadian prejudices such a thing had never been done. Must endeavor to overcome these prejudices when I become better acquainted with their nature and extent. Up at 7½ and after breakfast commenced examination of medicines and continued at work till 6½. It will be a week before we get comfortably settled. Our apartment is 13 paces long by 7 broad and extends in E. and W. direction, the roof about 20 feet from floor supported by two rafters and 2 transverse beams. In front is the door and a pretty large window—posteriorly—a window and back door one on each side and in the middle a large fire place, without any grate, built of stone and lime. The walls are formed of rough, strong horizontal [deals?] attached at their extremities to perpendicular ones. Against the northern wall are placed our bedsteads, between them a large chest and in front a small medicine shelf. Strong shelves of unplaned deal occupy two posterior thirds of south wall and contain the greater part of medicines. Anteriorly there is a small heater and a painted shelf on which have to-day placed small quantities of medicine most frequently in use. The deals composing floor are in some places two and three inches distant from each other, thus leaving wide apertures. This is also true of the deals in the walls and the chinks are numerous; by those to N. can look into school room. The house to S. is unoccupied at present. Shall close all apertures with brown paper pasted, or leather. The partition is to extend from the foot of my bed to extremity of large shelves on left and the abutment in front to be the surgery. The posterior is our bed room and I expect we shall have it busy soon. Our attendant is a Sandwich Island boy named Namahama. He is slow in his motion as a sloth

but quiet and docile and will improve. Keep up a blazing pine fire usually; our only fire iron is a pole about 6 feet long with 6 inches of iron rod fitted to its extremity and is a good apology for a poker. Filled some 8 or 10 quart vials with few tinctures on hand and arranged them on front shelf. There is an excellent supply of surgical instruments for amputation, 2 trephinning, 2 eye instruments, a lithotomy, a capping case, besides 2 midwifery forceps and a multitude of catheters, sounds, bandages, probings, 2 forceps, etc. not put in order. At 6½ attended Plant's funeral. The procession made up by McL., Cowie and self and about twenty-five servants, Europeans, Islanders, and Canadians sent out from Plant's house. The coffin unpainted slung on pieces of canvass and thus borne by young men. Passing through a pretty grove of young oaks and young trees we arrived at burial grove which is situated in a fertile upland meadow beautified by wild flowers and trees in flower. The funeral service read by Gov. The great want here is the ground not being enclosed. Some of the graves are surrounded with palisades but the greater number are merely covered with stones and logs of wood. The behaviour of the servants was decorous and befitting the solemn occasion. The character of the deceased was not such as to make his death a matter of regret to his fellows. He had been a noted bruiser, distinguished for a quarrelsome disposition, but having the redeeming quality of unflinching courage and hence being a valuable attendant in moments of danger. In the evening had some conversation with the Gov. on farming. Wheat here yields a return of 15-fold; barley from 40 to 50; maize requires the richest soil, barley, hay, then wheat, and lastly oats or peas.

Tuesday, May 7th

Sat chatting with Mr. Cowie last night in his apartments adjoining the office until nearly 11. Afterwards wrote log and conversed with G. until past 12. To-day has been unprolific in events of interest. By our labours we have brought apartment somewhat near to state of order and tidiness but there is still much to be done. Borrowed from Gov. first and second vol. of Humboldt's Personal Narrative of Travels in So. America. Sowed Dahlia seeds in garden under a frame, visited a store; it seemed in a state of confusion. Blankets are the most abundant, while strouds, trinkets, etc. assist in forming the miscellaneous list. Looked out for two calico jacket [and] tartan [check?] Now, 9½, going to begin Humboldt.

Wednesday, May 8th

Began Cowper's poem on tenth but soon laid it aside and accompanied G. along river's bank for a short distance upward. There is a nice pebbly beach well [suited?] for bathing, edged with verdant trees and brushwood, and elegant wild flowers of various species. Armed with guns and fired once but result in my case doubtful. After breakfast resumed labours in dispensing and busy till 5 p. m. Sent calico and tartan to the doctor's who has kindly offered to get them made up by his family. At 6 G. and I set out to walk along the farm with guns and I having vasculum. On passing farm [shedding?] which is extensive and placed about 300 yards above Fort, we struck up toward the

wood and then walked along an upland plateau which reached for about 2 miles to eastward from near Fort to where the dense forests obstruct the view. Its breadth is about ¼ mile and it presents a rounded bluff face to northward, beautified with elegant columbines, luxurious lupines and other plants equally attractive but unknown. From this part to bank of river is a low plain generally ¾ mile broad and divided by fences into large wheat, barley, or pea fields or broad meadows, 2 ponds abounding in ducks diversify the same somewhat, but add little to its beauty, their banks being of a dry and sandy nature. G. and I. walked along the plateau by the border of [the] wood, now admiring the rich groves of lupin amidst the trees mixed with handsome columbines, sun flowers, and a great variety of herbacious plants in flower. On the borders of [the] wood there were some enchanting spots and my heart bounded with delight and enthusiasm as I surveyed them. Thin gray clouds mellowed, without much obscuring, the rays of the departing sun and this lent an air of softness to the face of nature, and there being scarcely any wind the glimpses of the magnificent Columbia obtained through interruptions to the belt of wood which skirts its northern shore showed it to flow placidly and musically along. On its southern shore, great trees extended in a narrow strip along lowlands, but, behind, a range of undulating hills perhaps 500 feet high stretched east and west and in the background the colossal Mt. Hood, to-day much freed of his gilded investment, reared his lofty summit above the clouds. The tout ensemble was the finest combination of beauty and grandeur I have ever beheld. At 6¾ reached extremity of plateau and just going to face about when I saw a bushy animal with a large cocked tail striped white and brown and about the size of a large cat about 100 yards ahead. He perceived us and made off, but seeing him tardy in his movements gave chase and soon gained on him and admired his beauty as he ran with his tail spread out like a fan or tail of a turkey cock. He stopped under the shade of a huge pine, grinned and stood at bay, but I let fly and soon settled his hash. Immediately thereafter a most diabolical smell declared him a polecat [malgre?] the skunk.

Despite the stink, we carried him by the brush to the vicinity of the fort where we concealed him for examination tomorrow, arriving just in time for tea and met a Mr. McDonald, who has returned from an exploring expedition to the Willamette river and gives a very interesting account of the country. Fertile, extensive plains abounding in excellent oak,—these invite the husbandman. Traces of coal exist and he has now brought a specimen of limestone rock. In one part salt springs are numerous and are much frequented by the deer. More salmon caught there than in other parts of this neighborhood and there our supply is derived. Am giving G. the polecate as I shall not have time to examine and [to cure?] its skin. Collected a specimen of the Devil's tree used as a purge in W. S. [or U. S.?] and tried it in a few instances.

Thursday, May 9th

Up at 6. Examined plants procured last night. It is I think *Cornus Florida* which, in the U. S. is sometimes substituted for cinchona in a doze of..or..powdered bark; its composition is

Cinchonanie quinine and gum. After breakfast visited patients who are all in an improving way, and was, on my return, informed by Mr. McL. that I am to be despatched to northward in the Str. Vancouver which is to set out on a trading voyage in a few days along the coast. Shall probably be left with Mr. Finlayson at the new fort on Millbank Sound which is to supplant Fort Simpson. The situation of settlement is pointed out as being on an island which forms the south bank of north branch of Salmon river, at the entrance to Sound about latitude 51 30 N. Long. 127 W. The projected establishment to N. is in latitude 57°, Long. 132°. The site pointed out is on a narrow channel in the Sitca archipelago, or rather the Prince of Wales which runs between Duke of York's land and some other nameless islands to north about 1 and ½ mile broad and the spot proposed is on its eastern or mainland shore. It will not interfere with the Russians as they have no posts to south of Norfolk Sound. I would have preferred remaining here but *il n'import* [?]; as we are to coast a great part of the way and touch at several stations in Puget Sound and the Gulf of Georgia, the voyage I anticipate will be agreeable.

In the north must be constantly armed to the teeth as the Indians are dangerous. Busy during the day in acquiring information regarding medicines necessary to be taken, etc. In the evening walked out with G. along Vancouver Plain. It is a continuation of that to eastward of Fort described yesterday. Below Fort for some way it is covered with gigantic relics of the primeval forest which form a broad belt of wood extending to eastward. Proceeding along a rough road passing through a wood, the magnificence and grandeur of its colossal tenants was very impressive and the ground was beautifully carpeted with wild flowers and low creeping evergreen shrubs. Many of the pines were stripped of their bark for a few feet above root and the turpentine was profusely exuding in large pellucid drops. Traveled along the grassy level plain for nearly a mile and then plunged into the forest which skirted it on right or north side. Did not find it very impenetrable, there being little underwood. Soon emerged agin and returned homewards. What an excellent cricket field this part of plain would make. The site of it would throw Wilkinson into estacies. After tea were visited in our domocile by Mr. McKay, the farmer in Willamette, who returned thence with Mr. McDonald yesterday. He has traversed the country west of the Rocky Mountains in all directions. The Snake party of trappers of which so much was heard but so little learn't on board the Ganymede proceeded to the territory around Lewis or the great Snake River and its northern branch and sometimes enter the northern part of [Maquies?] in the Snake country. They are much annoyed by the Blackfeet Indians from the other side and some sharp skirmishes often occur. Their mode of traveling is on horseback with beaver traps slung by the saddle and they stop at all places where beaver are found until they have exhausted the spot, except where molested by the Indians. They live on buffalo meat. Here several American parties have been massacred by the Indians but the Company's have always escaped at the worst with the loss of a few lives. New Caledonia is the resort of another large party and their mode of traveling and hunting is similar, only they have not so much to apprehend from the Indians. This country last season produced

10,000 beaver skins which generally weigh about 1 pound each and are sold in London at 25 sh. per pound. There are no buffaloes and few deer in this country and fish is the support of the hunters. No hunting parties as yet despatched from Fort Simpson. McKay has had many encounters with the bear and the best way he says when a wounded bear rushes at you is to stand and reload and when he comes near, if your gun is unloaded, look at him steadily and he will not attack but raised on his hind legs will continue to return your gaze until tired of his position, when he betakes himself quietly off.

Friday, May 10th

Up at 7. Wrote part of yesterday's log before breakfast, being too much fatigued last night to go on with it. After having visited patients, looked out several articles of clothing in the store as I must now lay in a stock for a year, in case I may be detained in the north. At all the outposts the goods are advanced in price 33 1-3 pct. for the Indian trade, as every servant of the Company's is expected to supply himself at headquarters. After dinner, decided on getting a rifle here and got Mackay to choose one for me. Have been pondering on the propriety of this step ever since arrival and the dangerous nature of the country I am going to, and there being no rifles for sale there, besides that sooner or later I must have got one,—these considerations weighed in favor of my supplying myself at present, notwithstanding that I am in arrears with the Company. The rifle cost 150 sh., has a flint lock, platina touch hole and twist barrel about four feet long, and weighs 8½ pounds only. Shall try it tomorrow. In the afternoon busy in arranging the Vancouver's medicine chest. After tea walked for an hour with McDonald up and down the avenue from the river to Fort gate, I giving him Invernesshire news and receiving in return, as I introduced the subject, useful information regarding this country. Mac. is a native of [Artaroff?] and commenced his career under Lord Selkirk for whom he enlisted about 40 Highlanders from the Kew river settlement in 1806. His party rendezvoused at Inverness, countryside of Glengary, whose tenants he had urged as volunteers. He therefore dispatched a posse of men to Inverness to apprehend the deserters but Mac, apprised of their approach, marched his band to the hills and proceeded during the night along by the braes of Culloden to Croy, came down to the sea at Fort George and embarked his men on a small schooner for Kirkwall where Lord Selkirk was with the bay ships. McDonald, of Midmills was the Company's agent at Inverness. The Northwest Companies had had settlements all through New Caledonia and the Snake country but their only fort along the coast was Fort George. The union took place in 1820. Lord Selkirk, besides his stock in the Company's funds, had, for his services, received an interest in the business which now yields his family 10,000 pounds annually. The Dr. informed me some days ago that it was owing to the precipitation of one of the M. G.'s, I think W., in declaring himself a bankrupt, that the M. W.'s estate did not pay in full, it yielding 15 percent under great disadvantages. My disbursements at the store amount to 14.11-2.

SATURDAY, MAY 11

Up at 7. After breakfast showed riffle to McDonald who got Depote a noted marksman to try it; but he, after three shots, declared the barrel poor and the sight improperly constructed and it is now in the hands of the carpenter who understands the thing and is to make the necessary alterations. Busy all day getting up Vancouver's chest and invited in the evening to have some ball practice with G. but was requested by Gov. to copy a correspondence between Company and Russia for Compy, with which have been employed since 6 p. m.

BOOK REVIEWS

ACROSS THE PLAINS IN 1853. By D. B. Ward. (Seattle, Bull Brothers, 1912, pp. 55, 50 cents.) This is an attractive little booklet bound in paper and knotted with silk cord. It was intended for members of the pioneer's family and his friends, though a few copies were offered for sale in the local market. The journal is dedicated "To the Prairie Schooners of 1853 and their sturdy pilots." For half a century the author's children and grand children had enjoyed the recital of the experiences and adventures of the long journey across the plains and mountains.

He was at last induced to put the story in written form and its first draft was published in The Washington Historian, running through the numbers of January, April, and July, 1901. That interesting quarterly ceased publication, copies of it were scarce and so the author revised the story and put it in this present form.

It is one of those plainly written human documents, interesting to any lovers of the West, which the future historian will appreciate when he studies the romantic period of early immigration to the Pacific Coast regions.

PARKMAN'S THE OREGON TRAIL. By Ottis B. Sperlin. (New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1911, pp. 363, 25 cents.)

This favorite in the literature of the West appears in the series known as Longman's English Classics. Though substantially bound in cloth, the price is very low. The editor, Mr. Sperlin, is head of the department of English in the Tacoma High School. He has furnished an introduction, a bibliography, a chronological table, and rather copious notes.

The chronological table is compiled under three heads: "Parkman's Life and Works," "Contemporary History," and "Contemporary Literature." A comprehensive and helpful survey is thus given the reader who may wish to know of the author and his times while enjoying the reprinted book.

The pages of the book are not cramped with the editor's notes. These are gathered on the last twenty-four pages and are easily applied to explain or illuminate certain portions of the text in the light of more recent information.

This edition is useful for schools. It ought also to be welcomed in the public and private libraries of the West where it may not be convenient to have or use the older and more expensive editions.

THE COST OF EMPIRE. By Sarah Pratt Carr. (Seattle, The Stuff Printing Concern, 1912, pp. 23, 35 cents.)

This is the libretto for the opera "Narcissa" by Mary Carr Moore. The author and composer, mother and daughter, live in Seattle. The theme comprises one of the most romantic incidents in the history of the Pacific Northwest. If the opera meets with the success that many people expect for it, there is no doubt that it will start another wave of discussion over the "Whitman Myth." In the synopsis the author says: "The story follows history almost exactly, departing from it only in trifles and in compressing events, to fit the necessities of stage portrayal." In spite of this avowed purpose, the author has not been contented to abide by the abundantly heroic portions of the story, which are undisputed, but has made prominent the so-called political purpose of the winter's ride. That is the crux of the "Whitman Myth." It has been sadly shattered by recent investigations.

Perhaps we should not hold an opera to strict historical standards. Many are avowedly built on myths. It is certainly wise to cordially welcome so serious an effort in this field by a writer and composer of such unmistakable talent.

SEATTLE PARK COMMISSIONERS' EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT. Compiled by Roland W. Cotterill, Secretary. (Seattle, 1911, pp. 112.)

The City of Seattle has been taking an advanced position among American cities in the matter of parks and especially in the adjuncts of playgrounds and boulevards. This report is therefore the more important, as it contains statistics and data from 1890 to 1911. The report is illustrated and carries a valuable map of the city.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY. By Captain George R. Clark, U. S. N., William O. Stevens, Carrol S. Alden, and Herman F. Krafft. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1911, pp. 505, $3.00 net.)

This work has no direct bearing on the Pacific Northwest, the peculiar field of the Washington Historical Quarterly, but it has a number of references to such warships as the Olympia, Oregon, and Washington. Brief mention is also made of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition.

THE AMERICAN LUMBER INDUSTRY. By The National Lumber Manufacturers' Association. (Chicago, Leonard Bronson, Manager, 1912, pp. 238, $1.00.)

The volume embraces the proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the association. The Pacific Northwest is interested in the report of the President, Everett G. Griggs, of Tacoma, on the "West Coast Lumber Manufacturers' Association"; the report on "Western Pine Manufacturers' Association" by A. W. Cooper, of Spokane; and the paper entitled: "Men or Trees? The Problem of Our Logged-Off Lands," by J. J. Donovan of Bellingham.

THE BAILEY AND BABETTE GATZERT FOUNDATION FOR CHILD WELFARE. By Stevenson Smith. (Seattle, University of Washington, 1912, pp. 15.)

This is the first annual report of the Director of the Gatzert Foundation. It includes a statement of the work of the Department of Diagnosis of the Juvenile Court of Seattle. The Foundation is explained and the "Bureau of Child Welfare" is outlined, as are, also, the scope of the Foundation and its relation to the public schools. The cases of two hundred delinquent boys were studied in the Juvenile Court of Seattle.

Other Books Received

BURY, J. B. A History of the Eastern Roman Empire, From the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I. (A. D. 802-867). (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1912. Pp. 530. $4.00 net.)

CROLY, HERBERT. Marcus Alonzo Hanna, His Life and Work. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912. Pp. 495. $2.50 net.)

DORSEY, JAMES OWEN, and SWANTON, JOHN R. A Dictionary of the Biloxi and Ofo Languages. (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1912. Pp. 340.)

ROBINSON, JAMES HARVEY. The New History. Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912. Pp. 266.)

THEBAUD, REV. AUGUSTUS, S. J. Three-Quarters of a Century (1807 to 1882). Vol. I.: Political, Social, and Ecclesiastical Events in France. (New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1912. Pp. 334.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Harvard Exchanges Professors With Western Colleges

The Commencement Address at the Washington State College was given this year by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard. The presence of this distinguished historian in the Pacific Northwest brings to mind an interesting development in America's oldest universty. There has been arranged an exchange of professors between Harvard and a group of four western colleges—Knox, Beloit, Grinnell, and Colorado. Each of the smaller institutions sends a man to Harvard. Each of such professors will devote a fraction of his time to giving instruction and the balance he may devote to research. In exchange Harvard sends one of her best known professors on that circuit each year. This year Professor Hart gave a short course of lectures at each of the four colleges and took his place in the regular work of each faculty. He made the journey from Colorado Springs to Pullman and planned to return to the Rocky Mountains for his summer vacation. Friends of Harvard are rejoiced over this manifestation of greater interest in the West.

The Harvard Commission on Western History

Harvard's awakened interest in the West has been evidenced in a way more pointed even than the exchange of professors. In the first place, she called to her faculty Professor Frederick Jackson Turner of Wisconsin. And now comes the announcement of the organization of The Harvard Commission on Western History. Mrs. William Hooper has been sending Harvard a considerable annual sum in honor of her father, the late Charles Elliott Perkins of Burlington, Iowa, said sums to be used in the purchase of books on the West.

With this money as the foundation and with the enthusiastic support of Harvard alumni in the West, the Corporation has organized the Commission as follows: A. McF. Davis, '55, of Cambridge, chairman; Horace Davis, '49, of San Francisco; General Grenville M. Dodge, of Council Bluffs; Mr. Charles G. Dawes, of Chicago; Charles Moore, '78, of Detroit; Howard Elliott, '81, of St. Paul; F. A. Delano, '85, of Chicago; Professor F. J. Turner; Professor A. C. Coolidge, '87; and E. H. Wells, '97, secretary, Boston.

The purpose of the Commission was revealed in the original letter suggesting its organization, reproduced in the Harvard Alumni Bulletin, April 10, 1912, including: "We hope in the course of time to build up

such a collection of this subject that Harvard will be generally regarded as the best place in this country for the study of Western History."

Another evidence of this same purpose is the fact that there will soon appear a new edition of the justly famous Channing and Hart's Guide to the Study of American History. The authors of the new work will be Channing, Hart, and Turner. The book will naturally contain more materials on the West.

All this revival of interest in the West at Harvard is simply exhilarating to those who are working at history out here in the field itself. Harvard will find the workers in the West rejoicing at any opportunity to extend sympathy and substantial help in such a laudable undertaking.

Exchange of Professors on the Pacific Coast

The Summer Sessions of the University of California and the University of Washington will experience an exchange of professors in the field of history this year. Professor J. N. Bowman of the former institution and Professor W. A. Morris of the latter are the men who will exchange places. Aside from the manifestation of friendly intercourse between the universities, the experience will be pleasurable to the two men, as each has many friends at the other's institution.

From the House of Macmillan

William E. F. Macmillan, representing the third generation of the great English family of publishers, visited the State of Washington recently on an extensive tour of the United States and Canada. Besides seeing places of interest, his time was well filled throughout his tour by visiting people whose books had been issued from the branches of the old publishing house established by his grandfather.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

II. English Voyages of Discovery

1. Sir Francis Drake.
   a. Early training of the man.
   b. Return from Darien, 1573.
   c. Sailing for the Pacific, 1577.
   d. "Nova Albion" named, 1579.
   e. Return to England, 1580.
   f. Preservation of the "Golden Hind."
2. Thomas Cavendish, 1587.
   a. Referred to by Michael Lok.
   b. So-called Myth of Juan de Fuca.
3. Captain James Cook.
   a. Early life.
   b. First two voyages into the Pacific.
   c. Third voyage.
      i. Touches Northwest Coast, 1778.
      ii. Names left and work done.
      iii. Death in Sandwich Islands, 1779.
      iv. Beginning of fur trade.
4. James Hanna, 1785-1786.
   a. Pioneer fur trader.
   b. Explorations by.
5. John Meares, 1786.
   a. First trip from Bengal.
6. James Strange, 1786.
   a. Named Queen Charlotte Sound.
7. Nanthaniel Portlock and George Dixon, 1786-1787.
   a. Elaborate expedtion.
   b. Successful fur trade.
   c. Explorations.

d. Quarrel of the captains.
e. Journals published separately.

8. Charles William Barkley, 1787.
   a. Use of Austrian flag to evade license fees.
   b. Named Barkley Sound.
   c. Observed Straits.
   d. Mrs. Barkley, first white woman in Northwest.
9. Captains Duncan and Colnett, 1787-1788.
   a. Trade on Queen Charlotte Islands.
   b. Both return in subsequent years.
10. John Meares and William Douglas, 1788.
   a. Company of English merchants in India.
   b. Trick of double colors to evade customs charges.
   c. Return of Hawaiian and Nootkan chiefs.
   d. Chinese artisans.
   e. Building vessel at Nootka.
   f. "Rediscovery" of the Straits of Juan de Fuca.
   g. Denial of the Columbia.
   h. Naming of Mount Olympus.
   i. "Shoalwater" Bay, now Willapa Harbor.
   j. First cargo of timber shipped.
11. William Douglas and Robert Funter, 1789.
   a. Representing Meares and his company.
   b. Vessels seized by Spaniards.
12. Captains Colnett and Hudson, 1789.
   a. Under direction of Meares.
   b. Vessels seized by the Spaniards.
13. Diplomatic Troubles.
   a. The Nootka controversy.
14. George Vancouver, 1792.
   a. Lieutenant under Cook, 1778.
   b. Sent to negotiate with Spaniards at Nootka.
   c. Discoveries and explorations around Puget Sound.
   d. Claimed the region as "New Georgia."
   e. Explored Alaskan shores.
   f. Death as his journals were being published.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—This list of helpful books is purposely made brief and comprises those most accessible in the libraries of the Northwest.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of. Vol. XXVII. (Northwest Coast, Vol. I.), pp. 1-309. Here is found a record of most of the early voyages by the several nations.

COOK, JAMES. Journals of. There are many editions. If the journals are available it will be easy to find the portion of the third voyage relating to the Northwest Coast. The same instruction will avail if the work accessible be a compilation from the journals.

DIXON, GEORGE. A Voyage Round the World. This work, published in 1789, is in many of the libraries. It is copiously supplied with maps and there are a few plates of natural history objects.

DRAKE, SIR FRANCIS. World Encompassed. The most accessible edition is Richard Hakluyt: The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation. (Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1904), Vol. IX.

MANNING, WILLIAM RAY. The Nootka Controversy. In Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1904. The author cites many original sources.

MEANY, EDMOND S. Vancouver's Discovery of Puget Sound. This work is more accessible than Vancouver's journal. That part of the journal relating to Puget Sound is reproduced with many notes added.

MEARES, JOHN. Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789 from China to the N. W. Coast of America. 2 volumes, 1791. There is included an account of the voyage of 1786. This work is especially interesting on account of the relation of Meares to the Nootka controversy.

PORTLOCK, NATHANIEL. A Voyage Round the World. Like that of Dixon, this book was published in 1789. It is not particularly rare and is one of the most beautiful products of that time of well made books. There are numerous illustrations and maps.

SHAFER, JOSEPH. A History of the Pacigfic Northwest. Pp. 1-42. Reliable, though brief account of the voyages.

VANCOUVER, GEORGE. A Voyage to the Pacific and Round the World. Edition of 1801. Vol. II., pp. 1-418 (beginning with Chapter III. of the first edition, 1798).

WINSOR, JUSTIN. Narrative and Critical History of Ameirca. This great work is helpful on all the voyages. It is especially cited here for Drake's voyages which are found in Vol. III., pp. 59—84.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

George Wilkes: History of Oregon, Geographical, and Political. (New York, Colyer, 1845.)

[The reprint of this rare work was begun in the first number of the Washington Historical Quarterly and was continued in portions of varying lengths until Chapter I. of Part II. was begun in Volume II., Number 4, July, 1908. For the sake of librarians and others who have kept the files, the work is here continued.—*Editor.*]

All heavy articles, therefore, should be left behind, with the exception of the most necessary cooking utensils, and these should be of tin, or of the lightest materials. If you are heavily loaded, let the quantity of sugar and coffee be small, as milk is preferable as a beverage for health, and because, as I have said before, it travels for itself. You should provide yourself with a water keg, and you should likewise have a tin can made after the fashion of a powder cannister, to hold your milk. A few tin cups, (abjure all crockery,) tin plates, tin saucers, a butcher's knife, a shovel, and a pair of pot-hooks, will go very far toward completing your culinary arrangements, and a small grindstone joined to their company, to keep them in edge, will also lend a valuable assistance to this department. There are many other articles apparently trifling in their nature, which must not be overlooked, and these the good sense of the emigrant must suggest for himself. Such are cord, bits of linen, leather, &c. Rifles, fowling pieces, pistols, powder, shot, ball, lump lead, and all the accompanying articles of destructive warfare upon game, are, I hardly need say, of the first importance. Man's inheritance of destructiveness must be borne with him to this region as well as to every other. The double inducement to carry articles of inherent usefulness, is their wonderful advance in value —thus, a rifle worth *twenty dollars* in the States, enhances to the worth of *fifty dollars* in Oregon, and fowling pieces increase in price in proportion.

The clothing you take, should be of the same description used in the middle states, and enough should be laid in to last a year. Care should be taken that, amongst the rest of your wardrobe, a half dozen or a dozen pair of strong shoes should not be forgotten.

These directions will suffice to give the emigrant a notion of his wants, and of the means he will require to procure them. What I have omitted,

will be supplied hereafter in the course of this narrative, and the remainder left unmentioned will be suggested as I said before by the intelligence of the emigrant himself.

On the 20th of May we moved to Big Spring in obedience to the previous resolution, and found upon our arrival there, a large accession to our party. Our number was now found to amount to near five hundred souls, men, women and children, of which 263 were men able to bear arms.

Here was an enterprise of moment indeed! The greatest confidence appeared to prevail throughout the whole party, and self-reliance and determination were stamped on every countenance. Every now and then, as some rough looking backwoodsman would swagger past, armed to the teeth with pistol and bowie knife, or squads of his companions skirr on horseback over the surrounding plains, rifle in hand, and blade in belt. an apprehension would start upon the mind of the difficulties to be found in harmonizing the incongruous elements, and of subduing them into one reasonable, order loving mass.

With the gathering of the grand council came the climacteric of McFarley's and Dumberton's struggle.

After the meeting had assembled, and the temporary officers of it had been appointed, came the proposals of organization. The ripening of the proceedings to this stage showed that the fat gentlemen were not the only aspirants emulous of supreme distinction. The strange assemblage was gathered from various sections of the country; they were agitated with various views, and naturally separated into various cliques. Most of them had their favorite plans already cut and dried, and their nominees were all ready to wear the chieftain's mantle. A stormy session was the consequence, and it was evident that the question of commandership would not be decided this day. In the middle of the uproar of the first hour, Dumberton, who had given his hair an extra intellectual rush from the front, and aranged the snuff colored garments in a style of superlative finish, managed to obtain the ear of the assemblage. After having waved the crowd into profound silence, he commenced a eulogium upon the character of Washington: made patriotic allusions to the revolution and the late war, touched on the battle of New Orleans, apostrophised the American eagle, and then wound up his introduction with a very meaning sentiment levelled with great force and earnestness at the "iron arm of despotism." Imagining that he had fairly taken captive the admiration of his audience, Mr. Dumberton, of Big Pigeon, came to the point of his address, and gravely proposed that the emigration should adopt the *criminal* laws of Missouri and Tennessee for its future government.

No sooner had the speaker delivered himself of his proposition, than McFarley, who had been chafing like a stung bull for the last half hour, sprang up, and remarked that since the gentleman from Big Pigeon had found out we had robbers and thieves among us, he, (McFarley) would move that a penitentiary be engaged to travel in company if his proposal should pass.

Mr. Dumberton replied with a savage irony intended to annihilate his opponent, that "the gentleman who had suggested the last resolution, would doubtless find himself *taken in* if it did." Mr. McFarley denounced Mr. Dumberton as a demagogue, whereupon Mr. Dumberton appealed to the Genius of Liberty for the purity of his intentions in a most beautiful apostrophe.

But the Genius of Liberty not responding to the call of the gentleman from Big Pigeon in time, some fiery spirits interfered, and shifted the dispute to new questions and characters, extinguishing in a moment the hopes and pretensions of the Big Pigeon and its opposing faction.

After some deliberation of a more quiet and sensible character, the council resulted in adopting a set of resolutions as its guiding principles, and postponing for the time the election of a commander and his aids, leaving the chief drection temporarily in the hands of Captain John Grant, who was employed as our pilot for the route. An adjournment then took place with the understanding that we should start finally and altogether on the morning of the 22d, and halt at the Kanzas river, for a final organization in the election of the commander and other officers.

As the resolutions adopted are interesting in a philosophical point of view, presenting as they do the spectacle of a free body of people, voluntarily assuming regulations and restrictions for the common benefit and safety of all—and as they are calculated to be of service to future companies of emigrants, I will here insert them.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE OREGON EMIGRATING SOCIETY.

Resolved—Whereas we deem it necessary for the government of all societies, either civil or military, to adopt certain rules and regulations for their government, for the purpose of keeping good order, and promoting civil and militray dicipline; therefore, in order to insure union and safety, we adopt the following rules and regulations for the government of said company.

Rule 1st.—Every male person of the age of sixteen or upwards shall be considered a legal voter in all the affairs regulating the company.

Rule 2d.—There shall be nine men elected by a majority of the company, who shall form a council, whose duty it shall be to settle all dis-

putes arising between individuals, and to try, and pass sentence on all persons for any act of which they may be guilty, which is subversive of good order and military discinlipe. They shall take especial cognizance of sentinels and members of the guard who may be guilty of neglect of duty, or of sleeping on their posts. Such persons shall be tried and sentence passed on them at discretion of council. A majority of two thirds of the council shall decide all questions that may come before them, subject to the approval or disapproval of the captain. If the captain disapprove of the decision of the council, he shall state to them his reasons, when they shall again pass upon the question, and if the decision is again made by the same majority, it shall be final.

Rule 3d.—There shall be a Captain elected, who shall have supreme military command of the company. It shall be the duty of the Captain to maintain good order and strict discipline, and as far as practicable, to enforce all rules and regulations adopted by the company. Any man who shall be guilty of disobeying orders, shall be tried and sentenced at the discretion of the council, which may extend to expulsion from the company. The Captain shall appoint the requisite number of duty sergeant, one of whom shall take charge of every guard, and who shall hold their offices at the pleasure of the Captain.

Rule 4th.—These shall be an orderly sergeant elected by the company, whose duty it shall be to keep a regular roll, arranged in alphabetical order, of every person subject to guard duty in the company, and shall make out his guard details by commencing at the top of the roll and proceeding to the bottom—thus giving every man an equal turn of guard duty. He shall also give the member of every guard notice when he is detailed for duty. He shall also parade every guard, call the roll and inspect the time of mounting. He shall also visit the guard at least once every night, and see that they are doing strict military duty, and may at any time give them the necessary instructions respecting their duty, and shall regularly make report to the Captain every morning, and be considered second in command.

Rule 5th.—The Captain, orderly sergeant, and members of the council, shall hold their offices at the pleasure of the company, and it shall be the duty of the council, upon the application of one third or more of the company, to order a new election, for either captain, orderly sergeant, or new member, or members of the council; or for all or any of them as the case may be.

Rule 6th.—The election for officers shall not take place until the company meet at Kansas river.

Rule 7th.—No family shall be allowed to take more than three loose

cattle to every male member of the age of sixteen or upwards."

I hardly need state that many of these remarkable regulations remained as from their very nature they needs must, a dead letter. The convocation, however, had performed the chief business they were called to accomplish, and each man at the adjournment, sought his quarters with the conviction that he had taken part in a proceeding but little short in points of dignity and grand importance to the declaration of independence itself.

It was grey dusk when the council of Elm Grove broke up, and the ceremony of supper to which I hastened with a right good will, led me into the night. When my meal was over, I paid a visit to the tent of John Robbins, and after passing an hour with his family, strolled out to take a view of the camp. Elm Grove is a spot situated in the plain of a vast prairie, and receives its distinction and its name from two beautiful elm trees that stand as solitary (?) land marks upon its surface. Though this was the first time I recognised the term of "grove" as applicable to but two trees, I felt willing from their extreme beauty to allow them any prerogative of definition they pleased to arrogate. The night, the scene, the stars, the air, were beautiful. The moon shed her silvery beams upon the white sheets of sixty wagons, whose arrangement marked the parallelogramic boundaries of our camp. A thousand head of cattle grazed upon the surrounding plain, fifty camp fires sent up their enlivening beams of comfort and good cheer, the cheerful sentinel whistled a lively air as he swaggered up and down his post, the sound of the violin, the flute, the flageolet, the accordion; the rich notes of manly voices, some in love ditties and some in patriotic strains, conjoined to lend romance and excitement to the scene. All was mirth, joy, and contentment, "save where some infant raised its fretful pipe," or where some party of infatuated gamesters were cursing the treacheries of a game of chance.

I passed by the tent of Big Pigeon, and overheard a fierce discussion on the new application of the veto power, as bestowed upon the Captain of the Company, and heard Dumberton denounce it, as "an absurd innovation upon a conservative system, and a most gross violation of a cardinal principle of political jurisprudence." Mr. Dumberton owned a circle of most ardent admirers, who if they did not exactly understand the meaning of all he said, (a matter that would have puzzled the gentleman from the vicinity of Kit Bullard's mill himself,) were most devotedly resolved to firmly believe every thing that fell from his lips, to be sound doctrine. There are in all societies classes of people, who would rather adhere and sacrifice to principles they do not understand, than abide by prop-

ositions, however good, that they do. There is something to hope from a mystery which confounds the senses, but a proposition that any one can understand is altogether beneath the notice of an aspiring imagination.

CHAPTER III.

The Start—Crossing of the Walpalusia—Visit of Pottawattomies—Crossing of the Kanzas—Sinking of the Raft—New Recruits—Catholic Missionaries—Election of Officers—Crossing of Big Sandy—An Indian Visit—Crossing of the Blue—A Thunder Storm—Novel Race After Blankets—Meeting With the Osages and Kanzas—Green and the Kaw—More Rain—New Organization and New Election—Friends in the Desert—The Dead Pawnee—Buffalo—Chase of an Antelope.

Early on the morning of the 22d, the signal was given for preparation, and the camp was soon in one universal babel of excitement. Our arrangements, however, were not all completed until after midday, when the teams being all hitched, the cattle herded, the tents struck and stowed, and the wagons all ready to take their places in the line, assigned them for the route, the bugle, (blown by Jim Wayne, who galloped up and down, as an aide-de-camp to the temporary commander,) sounded its last signal of departure, and away we streamed to the distance of two miles over the undulating billows of the prairie, at last fairly embarked for the region of our future home. The country we passed through this day, was one succession of gently undulating swells, clothed with a verdure that evinced the rich fertility of the soil. After a journey unmarked by any incidents, except the delays arising out of the confusion of a first start, we encamped about an hour before sunset; having accomplished but a distance of three miles. On the following day we succeeded no better, only making in all, four miles. Our cattle gave us a great deal of trouble, as they had heretofore been allowed unrestricted liberty in wandering over the plains, and had not yet been broken into the regularity of an onward march. We encamped this evening on the banks of a beautiful little river, called the Wapalusia, a tributary of the Kanzas. It was but about twenty yards wide; its clear pellucid waters rolled over a pebbly bottom, and its abrupt banks were studded with the cotton wood, and ash, which on some portions of its course, intermingled their foliage across the stream.

As soon as we had fallen into our regular disposition for the night, and staked our horses, several of us turned out with nets and fishing-tackle, to sweep and to tickle the stream. But though we were successful in fur-

nishing ourselves with some amusement, we were not so successful in the object of our endeavors—being only fortunate enough to secure a few trout, most of which fell to the share of the female department of the expedition.

On the morning of the 24th, we made preparations for crossing the stream, but in consequence of the steepness of its banks, were obliged to let our wagons down with ropes, and to draw them up in the same way. This was the first proof we had, of the advantages possessed by the vehicles with falling tongues, for they were easily lifted out of danger, while the others ran against the bottom in their descent, and one of them was snapped off. Our cattle plunged into the water without any hesitation, and all crossing without difficulty, we were in a short time, regularly following our onward movement. We might have avoided all the delay and trouble of this crossing, if we had searched a hundred yards farther up the stream, for there we would have found a practicable ford.

While crossing, we received a flying visit from three Potawattomie Indians. They were out on a hunt, and were mounted on superb horses arrayed in saddles, bridles and martingales. They stopped but a moment to gaze at us, and then scoured away at top speed towards the south.

On the forenoon of the 26th, we arrived at the borders of the Kanzas river, and finding it too high to ford, were obliged to come to a dead halt, and to devote the rest of the day to devising means to overcome the unexpected obstruction. Here, however, the unfortunate differences which arise out of the vanity of opinion, prevented the adoption of any practical measure, and the debate went over till the next day. On the following morning, 27th, a committee of three, received the delegated opinions of the whole, and were directed to make arrangements for crossing the river. Content with the compromise, the rest of us who chose, went to work at fishing for a fresh dinner.

(To be continued.)

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COMPARATIVE STUDY OF STATE CONSTITUTIONS FOR PROVISIONS NOT FOUND IN OUR OWN*

In order to appreciate the study of other state constitutions by comparison, it will be necessary to first have some idea of what is contained in the Washington constitution. The Washington constitution, the same as most others, which have been adopted in the last fifty years, covers a comparatively broad field. It begins in the more or less generally accepted way by devoting the first article to the declaration of rights. This article has, perhaps, the most general provisions of any of the articles of the constitution and being thus general in its terms and broad in its scope, the question of its interpretation gives vent to many disputes or actions as to rights under it. The declaration of rights, generally speaking, enumerates the personal rights of the citizens and makes these rights secure. Their contents are usually very similar, so in the comparison, only the important or interesting differences will be mentioned.

Provisions[1] are then made for the respective departments of the government, viz.: legislative, executive and judicial, prescribing certain powers,

*The constitutions studied and their respective dates are as follows:

Alabama, 1819-1865-1867-1875-1901; Arkansas, 1836-1864-1868-1874; California, 1849-1879; Colorado, 1876; Connecticut, 1818; Delaware, 1792-1831-1897; Florida, 1838-1865-1868-1885; Georgia, 1777-1798-1865-1868-1877; Idaho, 1889; Illinois, 1818-1870; Indiana, 1816-1851; Iowa, 1846-1857; Kansas, 1855-1857-1858-1859; Kentucky, 1792-1799-1850-1890; Louisiana, 1812-1845-1852-1864-1868-1879-1898; Maine, 1819; Maryland, 1776-1851-1864-1867; Massachusetts, 1780; Michigan, 1835-1850; Minnesota, 1857; Mississippi, 1817-1832-1868-1890; Missouri, 1820-1863-1865-1875; Montana, 1889; Nebraska, 1866-1875; Nevada, 1864; New Hampshire, 1776-1784-1792-1902; New Jersey, 1776-1844; New York, 1777-1821-1846-1894; North Carolina, 1776-1868-1876; North Dakota, 1889; Ohio, 1802-1851; Oklahoma, 1907; Oregon, 1857; Pennsylvania, 1776-1790-1838-1873; Rhode Island, 1842; South Carolina, 1776-1778-1790-1865-1868-1895; South Dakota, 1889; Tennessee, 1796-1834-1870; Texas, 1845-1866-1868-1876; Utah, 1895; Vermont, 1777-1786-1793; Virginia, 1776-1830-1850-1865-1870-1902; Washington, 1889; West Virginia, 1863-1872; Wisconsin, 1848; Wyoming, 1889.

[1]Art. 2, 3 and 4, Washington constitution.

duties and limitations of each department, as well as prescribing the method for creating said departments. This is followed by an article[2] providing for the removal of an officer for malfeasance, either by impeachment or otherwise. Article 6 then relates to the right of suffrage and the method of conducting elections. Article 7 relates to the method, forms and limits of taxation and raising revenue; article 8 to the public indebtedness.

We then have provisions concerning education,[3] school lands,[4] militia,[5] and state institutions in general[6]; also provisions in regard to both municipal[7] and private[8] corporations. We have provisions with respect to harbors[9] and tide lands,[10] which, owing to the location, are of course not found in the constitution of inland states and while most states along the coasts have similar provisions, still even some of the coast states[11] do not make this a matter which is to be governed directly by the constitution. We also have a clause creating a public health department,[12] which is not found in many of the other state constitutions. While this outline is not very definite, we can at least more readily distinguish many of the more peculiar provisions found in the other constitutions.

While we are primarily interested in those provisions contained in other constitutions and not contained in our own, we incidentally notice that we also have many provisions which are not found in other constitutions. This is especially true with respect to some of the older constitutions[13] which are still in force. Such a comparison shows the important part that the "Times" plays in the framing of a constitution. Many of the older constitutions are frame works for governing laws rather than the definite provisions themselves. Some states have left certain subjects for legislation, while others have included the same subjects in their constitutions, and it is primarily this difference that exists between the older and the more modern constitutions. We find that some of the states[14] have framed new constitutions many times, each time making it a little broader in its scope, more of a building rather than a mere frame. At the same time some of the states still retain the same constitutions which have served them for many years. Here it is interesting to note that Massachusetts' original constitution of 1780 and Connecticut's original constitution of 1818 are still in

2Art. 5, Washington constitution.
3Art. 9, Washington constitution.
4Art. 16, Washington constitution.
5Art. 10, Washington constitution.
6Art. 13, Washington constitution.
7Art. 11, Washington constitution.
8Art. 12, Washington constitution.
9Art. 15, Washington constitution.
10Art. 17, Washington constitution.
11Mass. 1780, Alabama 1901 and Virginia 1902.
12Art. 20, Washington constitution.
13Mass. 1780, Vermont 1793, Connecticut 1818 and Maine '19.
14Louisiana, 1812, 1845, 1852, 1864, 1868, 1879, 1898.

force[15] and, while they have amendments, they have never been entirely revised or substituted. In fact, these constitutions don't seem to have as many amendments as most of the more modern constitutions which cover such broad fields. They pursue the method of legislation for many of the matters which others have incorporated in their constitutions. Hence in such constitutions, we do not find many provisions which are not contained in our own, but just the reverse.

One provision which is not in our own constitution, and which is more common in others than any which ours omits, is the one in regard to distribution of powers. The most common method of making this provision[16] is by stating that the government shall consist of three departments, and that no officer of any one department shall exercise any functions or powers in any other department. Connecticutt,[17] Rhode Island[18] and South Dakota[19] only go so far as to say that there shall be the three departments named and omit the latter part of the provision. The constitutions of Georgia,[20] Maryland, North and South Carolina, Virginia[21] and West Virginia each have provisions which imply the division by saying that they shall be forever separate and distinct. But Washington is among the states that omit it entirely. The others omitting it are a few eastern and southern states and North Dakota and Kansas. It is very peculiar to note that in the first three constitutions[22] adopted in Kansas, the provision was included, but in their last and present constitution, which was adopted in 1859, it is entirely omitted. In this the Washington constitution makes no provision whatsoever, but merely prescribes in the respective articles[23] the duties, powers and jurisdiction of the respective departments.[24]

Another matter which is almost universally provided for in the constitutions is the method of selecting a supreme court, not that Washington fails to have such a provision, but it is interesting to note the difference in the various states. The Washington constitution provides for five judges,[25] which has been changed to nine by the legislature, and they are elected by the voters for a period of six years. Supreme courts vary in their number of judges from three[26] to nine and in most states are elected as

15The following constitutions are also original ones: Maine 1819, Rhode Island 1842 and Wisconsin 1848.
16Art. 3, California constitution of 1879.
17Art. 2 of Connecticut constitution.
18Art. 3 of Rhode Island constitution.
19Art. 2, South Dakota constitution.
20Art. 1, Sec. 1, Par. 23, Georgia constitution of 1877.
21Art. 1, Sec. 5, Virginia constitution.
22Constitutions of 1855, 1857 and 1858.
23Art. 2, 3 and 4, Washington constitution.
24In the case of Territory vs. Stuart 1 Wash. 98, the Supreme Court has held that this limitation of the powers has been implied to some extent at least.
25Art. 4, Sec. 2, Washington constitution.
26The Supreme Courts of Mississippi, Wyoming, Texas, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, and Idaho still have only three judges.

here, but in Georgia[27] and South Carolina[28] they are elected by the General Assemblies. In Connecticutt,[29] Delaware,[30] Massachusetts[31] and Mississippi, they are appointed or nominated by the governor, which nominations are then ratified by the Senate. In Rhode Island the judges are appointed as in these states, but are appointed for life or until the office is declared vacant by the General Assembly.[32] Mississippi has the very unusual provision[33] that though the judges are appointed, the clerk of the supreme court is elected by the people. In most states it is just the reverse. In many states the court selects its own clerk, which is the case in Washington.[34] Many states, for instance Wyoming,[35] include a provision that a judge shall not try a case in which he is personally interested.

Passing from these general surveys, we will take up some of the individual sections which, owing to their peculiarity, are more interestiing and, owing to their field, are more important in that they are the sections which are more often the subject of controversies.

Article 1, Section 1, of the present constitution of Alabama, adopted in 1901, reads as follows: "Immigration shall be encouraged. Immigration shall not be prohibited, and no person shall be exiled." Several states have the latter part of this stating that no person shall be exiled, but the part stating that immigration shall be encouraged and shall never be prohibited is very unusual. In fact, some states have provisions which, if not entirely contradictory, at least tend to give the opposite effect. Many constitutions give the legislature power to restrict immigration.[36]

The California constitution devotes an article[37] to matters which indirectly concern this same question, namely, that article which we frequently hear of as the "Chinese Article." Parts of it read as follows[38]: "No corporation formed in this state shall employ Chinese or Mongolian labor," attaching a penalty for so doing. Also: "State shall not employ Chinese or Mongolian labor except for convict labor."[39] Still other constitutions, as Virginia,[40] create departments of immigration, giving them power to control this matter.

Right along with the question of immigration comes the question of

27Art. 6, Sec. 2, Par. 4, Georgia constitution.
28Art. 5, Sec. 2, South Carolina constitution.
29Amendment 26, Connecticut constitution.
30Art. 4, Sec. 3, Delaware constitution.
31Part 2, Chap. 2, Art. 9, Massachusetts constitution.
32Art. 10, Sec. 4, Rhode Island constitution.
33Art. 6, Sec. 168, Mississippi constitution.
34Art. 4, Sec. 22, Washington constitution.
35Art. 5, Sec. 6, Wyoming constitution.
36Art. 19, Sec. 4, California constitution.
37Art. 19, California constitution.
38Art. 19, Sec. 2, California constitution.
39Art. 19, Sec. 3, California constitution.
40Art. 10, Virginia constitution.

an alien's right to hold property. The West Virginia constitution says on this point[41]: "There shall be no distinction between a resident alien and a citizen as to the acquisition or tenure, disposition or descent of property." This is also the rule in Wisconsin, Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas, Florida, Nebraska and a few other states. Others are silent on this matter, while still others have the provision that aliens can hold property if acquired in certain ways, for instance by inheritance or by foreclosure on a mortgage debt. Washington and Montana[42] have this latter provision with the addition that aliens may hold land with valuable mineral deposits or land used for milling sites, irrespective of how it is acquired. California has the very unusual provsion[43] that aliens of white or African descent may hold and enjoy property in that state. This is in effect another discrimination against the Chinese and Mongolian races.

Many of the states, especially those known as border states during the Civil War have constitutionally abolished or prohibited slavery, but these sections usually include the phrase, "Except for the punishment of crime."

Provisions which are more or less associated, not by law, but by circumstance, with the slavery question, are provisions of race distinction. According to the constitutions[44] of Kansas and Maryland, negroes are still denied the right of suffrage. These provisions have never been changed, but, of course, they are inoperative since the adoption of the fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States in 1870. Sections in the constitutions of Virginia, West Virginia and Missouri provide that white and colored children shall be taught in separate schools. Indiana had a provision reading: "No negro shall come into the state. Contracts with negroes are void and parties employing them or encouraging their stay are subject to a fine." This provision was taken out in 1881, but it is a good example for showing the trend of public opinion prior to that time. Florida[45] and Mississippi[46] have provisions declaring any marriage between a white person and a negro unlawful, null and void.

The Louisiana constitution, adopted in 1898, has the unusual provision[47] that no law shall be passed fixing the price to be paid for manual labor. Some constitutions provide for this rather than stating that even the legislature cannot regulate it.

41Art. 2, Sec. 5, West Virginia constitution of 1872.
42Art. 2, Sec. 33, of the Washington constitution and Art. 3, Sec. 25, of the Montana constitution.
43Art. 1, Sec. 17, California constitution.
44Art. 5, Sec. 1, of the Kansas constitution, and Art. 1, Sec. 1, of the Declaration of Rights of the Maryland constitution.
45Art. 16, Sec. 24, Florida constitution.
46Art. 14, Sec. 263, Mississippi constitution.
47Art. 51, Louisiana constitution.

A very important section[48] of the Wisconsin constitution is: "Fines or restraints on alienation of any kind shall be void." This question is very important in the law of property and in the question of determining titles, but is very seldom a matter of constitutional provision, and even where it is mentioned in the constitution, it is not so sweepng as in the Wisconsin constitution.

The West Virginia constitution provides[49] that no session of the General Assembly shall exceed forty-five days. The Washington constitution makes the limit sixty days.[50] This is a matter that is usually left for a legislature to control for itself. Another matter which is usually left for the legislature is a section[51] in the Alabama constitution providing that cities of over six thousand population cannot grant a franchise to any corporation for a period of over thirty years. While some constitutions have general provisions on this, most of them are not so definite.

In the manner and the methods of raising revenues, there are some very interesting differences. In Montana[52] and in Delaware[53] any bills for raising revenues or for levying taxes must originate in the House of Representatives, whereas most states allow them to originate in either house.[54] A section[55] of the Mississippi constitution reads as follows: "No revenue bill nor any bill providing for assessments of property for taxation, shall become a law, except by a vote of at least three-fifths of the members of each house present and voting." Requiring a three-fifths vote on revenue bills is very unusual, as in most states the usual majority controls this bill the same as any other bill. The Alabama constitution[56] gives its legislature power to levy an inheritance tax not exceeding two and one-half mills and only on property passing to any one except lineal descendants. A franchise tax provided for in the Virginia constitution[57] put a one per cent tax on the gross transportation receipts of all railroads. The Florida constitution[58] limits the capitation tax to one dollar per person. In California a section[59] provides that fruit and nut trees are exempt from taxation for the first four years, and any vines are exempt for the first three years, except that this shall not include nursery stocks. Such tax provisions as the above are very unusual for constitutional provisions, but

48Art. 1, Sec. 14, Wisconsin constitution.
49Art. 6, Sec. 22, West Virginia constitution.
50Art. 2, Sec. 12, Washington constitution.
51Art. 12, Sec. 228, Alabama constitution.
52Art. 5, Sec. 32, Montana constitution.
53Art. 8, Sec. 2, Delaware constitution.
54Art. 2, Sec. 20, Washington constitution.
55Art. 4, Sec. 70, Mississippi constitution.
56Art. 11, Sec. 219, Alabama constitution.
57Art. 13, Sec. 178, Virginia constitution.
58Art. 19, Sec. 5, Florida constitution.
59Art. 13, Sec. 12 3-4, of the amendments to the constitution of California.

of the respective states, while some of them are peculiar in that they are not found in other states at all.

A few of the states[60] have provisions that taxes must be fully paid before the citizen is entitled to vote and a few more of the states[61] have the provision that all capitation taxes must be paid before the right of suffrage can be exercised. And on this question of suffrage, some states have even gone so far as to put a property qualification on a voter. In South Carolina,[62] for instance, the voter must show that he has paid taxes on at least three hundred dollars worth of property. In Rhode Island[63] the voter must have paid taxes on one hundred and thirty-four dollars worth of property before he can vote on any tax question or bond issue. The Virginia constitution[64] gives the General Assembly power to enact a law providing that voters at any county elections must have a property qualification not exceeding two hundred and fifty dollars. Texas also has a provision[65] that no one but a taxpayer can vote on a tax question. On the contrary, the Idaho constitution[66] states specifically that there shall never be any property qualification for a voter in that state.

Other qualifications for a voter also differ in the various states, for instance the time which they must reside in the state, county and precinct. The South Carolina and Wyoming constitutions[67] provide that a voter must be able to read the constitution, unless he be physically unable to do so, while the Maine and Louisiana constitutions,[68] like our own,[69] provide that a voter must be able to read and write the English language. In Wisconsin[70] the fighting of a duel will disfranchise a voter. Provisions similar to this are found in many of the older constitutions which have been replaced now, omitting that provision. Many provisions of which this is a good example still exist, but are relics of bygone days rather than provisions which we ever have any occasion to use today. Nevertheless, they still exist and would still be operative if the occasion ever arose to call them into use. They were formed in times when such clauses were essential and now that they are not essential they have never been repealed. They continue to be the supreme law the same now as then.

60Among these are Connecticut, Florida, Texas, etc.
61Art. 1, Sec. 4, South Carolina constitution, and Art. 2, Sec. 18, Virginia constitution.
62Art. 2, Sec. 4, Par. D, South Carolina constitution.
63Art. 2, Sec. 1, Rhode Island constitution.
64Art. 2, Sec. 30, Virginia constitution.
65Art. 6, Sec. 3, Texas constitution.
66Art. 1, Sec. 20, Idaho constitution.
67Art. 2, Sec. 4 (d) of the South Carolina constitution, and Art. 6, Sec. 9, of the Wyoming constitution.
68Amendment 29 to the constitution of Maine and Art. 197, Sec. 3, of the Louisiana constitution.
69Amendment 2 to Art. 6, Sec. 1, of the Washington constitution.
70Wisconsin constitution was adopted in 1848.

The rights of voters to control legislation or rather to legislate, is brought out in its most reformed condition in the Oklahoma constitution of 1907, which has the Initiative and Referendum article.[71] A petition from seven per cent of the voters will require a proposed statute to be put to a vote of the people, which, when carried, then becomes a law the same as one passed by the legislature. To amend the constitution the same result is obtained by a petition from fifteen per cent of the voters and an election of the people. A law which has been passed by the legislature must be put to a vote of the people if five per cent of the voters so petition within ninety days after its passage, thus giving the people the power to override the acts of the legislature. However, if at either the Initiative or Referendum election, the proposition is defeated, then any time within the next three years, it will take a petition from twenty-five per cent of the voters to again put the same proposition before the people by such a method.

Oklahoma has a provision[72] saying that no city council shall grant any franchise for a period of more than twenty-five years, and that upon a petition from twenty-five per cent of the voters, the granting of a franchise must be submitted to a vote of the people. Utah also has the Initiative clause[73] giving the people the power to enact laws when petitioned by a certain per cent, which per cent is governed by law. In regard to the enacting of laws by the legislature, the constitutions of Texas, Wyoming, Oklahoma and Montana have provisions stating that members of the legislature cannot vote on any bill in which they have a personal interest, which is also the case in Washington. In most states, as we know, the lieutenant governor presides over the senate, but neither Georgia, Arkansas nor Wyoming has a lieutenant governor, their constitutions providing that some member of the senate shall preside. In this way the president of the senate is not elected directly from the state at large, as he is in most states, but he is the representative from some particular district.

The powers of the legislature are usually defined in the constitution, most constitutions[74] enumerating a certain class of cases in which there shall be no special legislation. The Washington constitution,[75] for instance, provides that the legislature shall create no corporation, either private or municipal, by a special act. The Minnesota constitution differs from this in a very important way. The Minnesota section[76] reads as follows: "No corporation shall be formed under special acts, except for

71Art. 5, Oklahoma constitution, adopted in 1907.
72Art 18, Sec. 4, Oklahoma constitution.
73Art. 6, as amended in 1900, of the Utah constitution.
74Art. 2, Sec. 28, Washington constitution.
75Art. 2, Sec. 28, and Art. 12, Sec. 1, of the Washington constitution.
76Art. 10, Sec. 2, Minnesota constitution.

municipal purposes." This very question of the method of creating a municipal corporation has arisen many times in our own supreme court.[77]

Some of the other powers given to, and the limitations set upon legislatures, are as follows: In Florida[78] the legislature shall create no office with a term of more than four years, while the Mississippi constitution[79] provides that there shall be no elective nor appointive office for life nor for good behavior. In Arkansas[80] and Florida[81] the legislature may deduct from the salary of any state officer for any neglect of duty. A section of the Michigan constitution[82] of 1850 provides that the legislature shall never establish a state paper. In California[83] the legislature has the power of pardon or reprieve when the governor has reported the case to the legislature. The enumeration of the powers of, and the limitations on legislatures, are so numerous that it is impossible to give all of them here, but those named are some of the more interesting ones.

Every state constitution[84] secures the right of religious freedom to its citizens, but nevertheless there are some very peculiar provisions which relate to this question indirectly. Article 19, Section 1, of the Arkansas constitution reads: "No person who denies the being of a God shall hold any office in the civil department of the state, nor be competent to testify as a witness in any court." The Tennessee constitution[85] also states that no person denying God shall ever hold any office in the civil department of the state. The constitutions of Mississippi,[86] and North[87] and South Carolina[88] all make their provisions broader by saying that "No person denying the existence of a Supreme Being shall ever hold any office in the state." The Tennessee constitution has a very peculiar provision[89] which denies any minister the right to ever hold a seat in the legislature, saying that their duties are such that they should not be allowed to divert any of their time to any other kind of work; that their duties are in their profession. In South Carolina[90] and Mississippi[91] a minister is given the right of suffrage after residing in the state six months, although no other person acquires the elective franchise in either state until he has resided there two years. The Mississippi constitution also has a very interesting

77 Wash. 18 and cases cited there.
78Art. 16, Sec. 7, Florida constitution.
79Art. 3, Sec. 20, Mississippi constitution.
80Art. 19, Sec. 8, Arkansas constitution.
81Art. 16, Sec. 18, Florida constitution.
82Art. 4, Sec. 35, Michigan constitution of 1850.
83Art. 7, California constitution.
84Art. 1, Sec. 11, Washington constitution.
85Art. 9, Sec. 2, Tennessee constitution.
86Art. 14, Sec. 265, Mississippi constitution.
87Art. 6, Sec. 8, North Carolina constitution.
88Art. 17, Sec. 4, South Carolina constitution.
89Art. 9, Sec. 1, Tennessee constitution.
90Art. 2, Sec. 4 (a), South Carolina constitution.
91Art. 12, Sec. 241, Mississippi constitution, and also Art. 3, Sec. 11, Maryland constitution.

provision prohibiting charitable bequests. The section is[92]: "Every legacy, gift or bequest of money or personal property or of any interest, benefit or use therein, either direct or indirect,—in any will and testament or codicil in favor of any religious or ecclessiastical society, denomination, association, or corporation, either for its own use or to be appropriated to charitable uses, shall be null and void and the distributees shall take the same as though no such testamentary disposition had been made."

Article 1, Section 17, of our own constitution reads: "There shall be no imprisonment for debt except in case of absconding debtors." A few of the states omit the qualifying phrase to similar sections. The constitutions of Florida, Wyoming and Idaho use the phrase, "except in case of fraud." The North Dakota section[93] reads: "No person shall be imprisoned for debt unless upon refusal to deliver up his estate for the benefit of his creditors in such a manner as shall be prescribed by law; or in case of tort; or where there is strong presumption of fraud." The Kentucky sections says[94]: "The person of a debtor, where there is no strong presumption of fraud, shall not be continued in prison after delivering up his estate for the benefit of his creditors in such a manner as shall be prescribed by law."

Nearly all constitutions[95] have some constitutional provisions in regard to the regulation of private corporations, some of which are nearly universal, but a few of them are exceptional for being constitutional provisions. The North Dakota constitution[96] prohibits the exchange of black lists between corporations. South Dakota, Montana and Michigan constitutions have provisions providing that parallel railroad lines shall not consolidate. Texas has the provision[97] that no railroad company organized under the laws of that state shall consolidate with any railroad company organized under the laws of any other state or under the laws of the United States. Most constitutions prohibit the giving of railroad passes to officials of the state, but in Virginia[98] the roads are required to furnish free transportation to the railroad commissioners while they are on their official duty. The same section also states that at least one of the three commissioners must have the same qualifications as a judge of the Supreme Court of Appeal. The Oklahoma constitution[99] prohibits any railroad, except street railways, from charging more than two ceents per mile for passenger fare. An Idaho section[100] says that corporations shall not agree to fix a price of

92Art. 14, Sec. 269, Mississippi constitution.
93Art. 1, Sec. 15, North Dakota constitution.
94Par. 18, Kentucky constitution.
95Art. 12, Washington constitution.
96Art. 17, Sec. 212, North Dakota constitution.
97Art. 10, Sec. 6, Texas constitution.
98Art. 12, Sec. 155, Virginia constitution.
99Art. 9, Sec. 37, Oklahoma constitution.
100Art. 11, Sec. 18, Idaho constitution.

any commodity or privilege sold to the public in general. A section[101] of the Indiana constitution says: "Every bank shall be required to cease all banking operations within twenty years from the time of organizing and promptly thereafter to close its business." The Texas constitution[102] says that in that state there shall be no foreign banks exercising banking or discounting privileges except such National banks as are organized under the federal laws. In regard to the creditors of a bank, the Alabama constitution has the following provision[103]: "Holders of bank notes and depositors not getting interest shall have preference over other depositors in case of insolvency of a bank." The New York constitution also has a provision[104] stating that bill holders shall be preferred in case of the insolvency of a bank. The same is true in Michigan.[105] According to the Oklahoma constitution, Article Nine, Section Forty, no corporation organized or doing business in that state shall be permitted to influence elections nor officers in their official duty, by contributions of money or anything of value. The same constitution also provides[106] that there shall be no corporation formed in that state for the purpose of dealing in land, except such land as is situated in incorporated cities or towns. The Michigan constitution of 1850 says[107]: "No corporation shall hold any real estate hereafter acquired for a longer period than ten years, except such real estate as shall be actually occupied by such corporation in the exercise of its franchise."

Labor provisions are also very common, but like the corporation provisions, some of them are more interesting than others because of their scarcity. Many constitutions, like our own,[108] provide that convict labor shall not be let out by contract, but we know that this is still the practice in states where the law is silent on that point. The Michigan constitution of 1850 has a very interesting provision[109] in regard to convict labor: "No mechanical trade shall hereafter be taught to convicts in the state prison of this state, except the manufacture of those articles of which the chief supply for home consumption is imported from other states or countries." This, as we see, protects the home producers and laborers in that it does not make them compete with convict labor. A section in the Kentucky constitution[110] says: "All wage earners in this state employed in factories, mines or work shops or by corporations shall be paid for their labor

101Art. 11, Sec. 10, Indiana constitution.
102Texas constitution, Art. 16, Sec. 16, as amended in 1904.
103Art. 13, Sec. 250, Alabama constitution.
104Art. 8, Sec. 1, Par. 8, New York constitution.
105Art. 15, Sec. 5, Michigan constitution of 1850.
106Art. 22, Sec. 2, Oklahoma constitution.
107Art. 15, Sec. 12, Michigan constitution of 1850.
108Art. 23, Sec. 2, Oklahoma constitution.
109Art. 18, Sec. 3, Michigan constitution of 1850.

tration commissions to decide any disputes between labor and capital, and the Idaho constitution also gives the legislature the power to establish such a commission.[111]. Various constitutions prohibit child labor in certain kinds of work,[112] and likewise a per diem minimum is frequently named as the amount of wages to be paid to laborers.

From a political standpoint, the question of prohibition has been the cause of many heated campaigns, of which the 1911 Maine election is a very good instance. As a result of this election, Maine still retains the prohibition article[113] in its constitution. Prohibition articles are also contained in the constitutions of North[114] and South Dakota[115] and Rhode Island.[116] The Virginia, Florida and Delaware constitutions have provisions for local option, and of course several of the states have provided for local option by statutes, though it may not be contained in their constitution.

By many of the constitutions lottery is absolutely prohibited. Article 2, Section 24, of our own constitution provides that the legislature shall never authorize any lottery. A section[117] of the Rhode Island constitution, which is practically the opposite, says: "All lotteries shall be prohibited except those authorized by the legislature."

The Oklahoma constitution has a very important provision[118] in regard to legislation, which states that repealing a statute does not put a previous statute into effect. Under the common law[119] as it prevails in nearly all jurisdictions this is not the case, so necessarily this provision would be quite a factor in determining many controversies. Under this provision there would be no statute on such a point unless enacted later.

Several of the constitutions provide that no law shall be passed limting the amount of damages to be recovered for the causing of injury or death. The Wyoming constitution gives this provision, but also adds another important feature, as follows[120]: "Any agreement waiving or limiting the recovery of damages for the causing of injury or death shall be null and void."

110Sec. 244, Kentucky constitution.
111Art. 13, Sec. 1, Idaho constitution.
112Art. 17, Sec. 209, of the North Dakota constitution and Art. 23, Sec. 3, of the Oklahoma constitution.
113Art. 26, adopted as an amendment to the Maine constitution in 1880.
114Art. 20, Sec. 217, North Dakota constitution.
115Art. 24, South Dakota constitution.
116Art. 5 of the amendments to the Rhode Island constitution.
117Art. 4, Sec. 12, Rhode Island constitution.
118Art. 5, Sec. 54, Oklahoma constitution.
119120 U. S. 52; 47 Ind. 283; 43 Mass. 118; 15 Ill. 233; 14 Wis. 252; 66 N. Y. 1.
120Art. 19, Sec. 1, Wyoming constitution.

An amendment[121] adopted in 1903 to the Rhode Island constitution provides that: "Judges of the Supreme Court shall give their written opinions on points of law when requested so to do by the governor or by either house of the legislature." Article 1 in the original and present constitution of Massachusetts adopted in 1780, in the chapter on judicial powers, provides: "Each branch of the legislature, as well as the governor and council, shall have authority to require the opinions of the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, upon important questions of law, and upon solemn occasions." The New Hampshire constitution has the provision[122] that "No person shall hold the office of judge or sheriff after he has attained the age of seventy years."

Very unusual divorce laws are found in the Georgia and South Carolina constitutions. The section in the Georgia constitution[123] reads: "No total divorce shall be granted except on the concurrent verdicts of two juries at different terms of court." And the South Carolina section reads[124]: "Divorces from the bonds of matrimony shall not be allowed."

Vermont and a few of the other older constitutions[125] provide that the estate of a suicide shall no longer escheat to the state, as in the case at common law[126] in those states, but that it shall be subject to distribution the same as the property of any other deceased person.

Maryland has a very interesting provision respecting criminal trials, something that is not found in any other jurisdiction and is certainly a very radical departure from the generally accepted method of procedure. It reads[127]: "In all trials of criminal cases the jury shall be the judges of law as well as of facts."

In Colorado[128] neither the state treasurer nor the state auditor are permitted to be their own immediate successors, that is they cannot hold two terms in succession. In Maryland[129] the office of secretary is made appointive, giving the governor this power, and in New Hampshire[130] both the secretary of state and the treasurer of state are elected by the general assembly.

The Iowa constitution provides[121] that there shall be no lease of agricultural lands for a period longer than twenty years.

The Georgia constitution still retains a relic of former days in the provision[132] which states: "Whipping as a punishment for crime shall

121Art. 12, Sec. 2, Rhode Island constitution, amendment of 1903.
122Part 2, Art. 75, New Hampshire constitution.
123Art. 6, Sec. 15, Par. 1, Georgia constitution.
124Art. 17, Sec. 3, South Carolina constitution.
125Sec. 38, Vermont constitution.
126123 Mass. 422.
127Art. 15, Sec. 5, Maryland constitution.
128Art. 4, Sec. 21, Colorado constitution.
129Art. 2, Sec. 22, Maryland constitution.
130Sec. 67, constitution of New Hampshire.
131Art. 1, Sec. 20, Iowa constitution.

not be allowed." The same constitution also has another unusual provision[133] on a more modern and very important matter. The provision is: "Where a county line divides any tract of land, the court of either county shall have jurisdiction over the entire tract."

In the article[134] on Water and Water Rights in the Idaho constitution, we find a section on the rights of riparian owners and giving the order of preference where the stream is not large enough for all the owners. The preference is as follows:

1. Those using for domestic purposes;
2. Those using for mining purposes;
3. Those using for agriculture purposes;
4. Those using for manufacturing purposes.

According to the Wisconsin[135] and New York[136] constitutions, betting on an election disqualifies a voter for that election. The absence of the provision that all political power is inherent in the people is noticeable in the Michigan and New York constitutions, as these are the only two state constitutions that omit the provision.

In regard to the method of amending a constitution the following are some of the interesting provisions. The most common method is by either a majority or two-thirds vote of the legislature and then a majority of the people. The Alabama constitution provides that the proposed amendment must pass the legislature by a three-fifths vote before it be submitted to the people. The Wisconsin, Indiana, Iowa and Virginia constitutions provide that the proposed amendment must pass two sessions of the legislature before it be submitted to the people. The Rhode Island constitution also provides for this and then states that the vote of the people must be by a three-fifths majority, while the Connecticut constitution provides that the second vote of the legislature must be a two-thirds majority in order to have it submitted. The Arkansas constitution provides that not more than three amendments shall be proposed at a time, and the Illinois constitution provides that not more than one amendment shall be voted on at any one session of the legislature.

A thorough study of the history and framing of constitutions, as well as of the provisions, as they are now found, is indeed interesting. Some of the states have had several constitutions,[137] and to study the changes in the successive ones discloses the important part that public opinion of the

132Art. 1, Sec. 1, Par. 7, Georgia constitution.
133Art. 6, Sec. 16, Par. 2, Georgia constitution.
134Art. 15, Idaho constitution.
135Art. 3, Sec. 6, Wisconsin constitution.
136Art. 2, Sec. 2, New York constitution.
137Louisiana has the record with seven constitutions, while South Carolina and Virginia are both close seconds with six each.

different times plays in the framing. In a speech at the Washington State Bar Association's meeting of 1911, this remark was made about the United States constitution: "The constitution speaks as of the age in which it was written, more than a century ago. The court expounds it in the language of its own age, holding fast to the old words and powers, but expanding them to keep pace with the expansion of our country, our people, our enterprises, industries and civilization." And the same might be said of the state constitutions where they have been revised or changed. They have been made broader to keep up with the pace of our civilization, and wherever we do not find a provision in a constitution, we frequently find that provision in a statute of that state.

The mission of a constitution has been very well summed up in a paragraph by Stimson in his book entitled "Federal and State Constitutions."

"The object of government is declared to be for the security, benefit and protection of the people, for the preservation and protection of our liberties; to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property and to secure to them their individual rights." Stimson suggsts a division of rights into civil and criminal, but this is merely for convenience. We are assured many rights which might be classed as secondary, among which would come religious freedom, freedom of speech, right to petition, etc., but above these the prime motive of every constitution is to secure to its citizens the four cardinal rights, the right of property, the right of labor and trade, the right to law and the right to liberty, and failing in these, the cardinal rights, a constitution has failed in its real purpose.

BEN DRIFTMIER.

WALLA WALLA AND MISSOULA

There exist some very interesting relationships, almost of consanguinity, between the well known valleys of Bitter Root in Montana and Walla Walla in the State of Washington; valleys which are noted for their beauty of location, benignity of climate, fertility of soil and abundance of historic incident. Each claims priority of date of settlement in their respective states.

Politically Walla Walla is heralded as the "Mother of Counties," and it has become almost trite to call attention to the fact that once upon a time Butte in Montana was a part of Walla Walla county; surprise at that announcement now gives way to a smile. But few have called attention to a fact stated by the biographer of Governor Isaac I. Stevens, that when that official with his party in the Fall of 1853 reached the summit of the Rocky Mountains at Cadotte's Pass, Montana, he made official proclamation of the fact and welcomed the gentlemen of his company within the borders of the Territory of Washington. This proclamation was, of course, repeated after his arrival at Olympia, the capital When the county of Walla Walla was legally defined by act of the first legislature of the Territory of Washington the officials designated to temporary control and organized the county were named by Governor Stevens himself and consisted of A. D. (Dominique) Pamburn, the resident agent of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Walla Walla, and George C. Bumford, a stockman residing on the Walla Walla river, and Mr. John Owens, then residing at Fort Owens, so called, formerly the St. Mary's Mission, in the Bitter Root valley. That these officials never met for formal organization was due to the sparse settlement of the vast extent of the county and the Indian troubles that followed so closely after.

Commercially speaking, the foundations for business in the commercial center of the Bitter Root valley were laid by people who emigrated from the Walla Walla valley. This is particularly so as to the large lumbering enterprise in the Hell Gate Canon, and the pioneer mercantile corporation of the city of Missoula. The founders of both these were originally residents of Walla Walla.

Individually speaking, the early families of the Bitter Root went there from Walla Walla. Among those connected with the party of Governor Stevens upon the journey already mentioned was Mr. C. P. Higgins, a man of large executive capacity, as well as frame, and well able to adapt himself to any circumstance in life or trust. Mr. Higgins was one

of the most dependable of Governor Stevens' assistants in holding the various councils with the Indians in the year 1855 and 1856, and became well acquainted with the interior region between Fort Benton and the Cascade Mountains, and after the interior was declared open for settlement in 1858 became a land owner in the Walla Walla valley, but later, with Frank Worden, who was the postmaster and a merchant at Walla Walla, removed to the Forks of the Hell Gate and Missoula rivers, where they together established a trading post for business with the Indians. This was the commencement of the Missoula Mercantile Company of the present day. Mr. Higgins took for his wife a daughter of Mr. Richard Grant, who had been in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company establishment known as Fort Hall in Southern Idaho, and their descendants include some of the leading families of Missoula.

Employed in the store of Mr. Worden at Walla Walla was a young man named Frank H. Woody, who assisted in the removal to the Bitter Root valley and settled there about the year 1860, who has since occupied many positions of trust and confidence in that valley and continues to be one of its well known and respected citizens, and prominent in the Historical Society of the State of Montana. Strange to say, Mr. Woody had reached Walla Walla by way of the Flathead country, and it is by way of introduction to his interesting artitle entitled "From Missoula to Walla Walla in 1857 on Horseback," which appears in this number of the Quarterly, that this brief sketch is written. In coming to Walla Walla alone and on horseback from Missoula late in the Fall of 1857 Judge Woody followed for considerable of the way the line of what afterward became the Military Road, surveyed and laid out by Captain John Mulan as a highway between Fort Benton and The Dalles. At the present day by transferring from one system to another it would be possible to travel nearly all of this route upon railway trains; another instance of the prominent fact that the old Indian trails have generally become the railway lines of the west.

In the Fall of 1911, after a lapse of fifty years, Judge Woody for the first time revisited the scene of his three years' activity at Walla Walla and renewed acquaintance with the few he remembered there. Among the historic spots of the city, he pointed out the site of the Craig house mentioned in his narrative, which stood at the extreme southeast corner of what is now the city park of Walla Walla and was the first home known to have been built and occupied within the present corporate limits of the city. This also became the first government postoffice in the valley, for Colonel Craig was appointed by Governor Stevens as agent over the Indian tribes inhabiting this region, and for that purpose removed from Lapwai for a

short time about the spring of 1856. He had been in Walla Walla during the Indian council of 1855 as one of the interpreters for Governor Stevens. Mr. Craig was a retired American Free Trapper or Mountain Man, a Virginian by birth, a companion of Joseph Meek and Robert Newell on the plains. The title of Colonel was attached to him because of his organizing a band of Nez Perce warriors to escort Governor Stevens through the Walla Walla country in the winter of 1855-6. The quarter section of land upon which the log house was erected was afterward acquired by his son-in-law, Mr. A. H. Robie, as a homestead.

Judge Woody's ride in one day from some point on Latah Creek (perhaps near Waverly) through to Snake river below the mouth of the Palouse was attended by one remarkable occurrence in that he crossed over no stream of water during the entire day; a fact then noted and ever since remembered by him with wonder. Can anyone solve this problem of topography?

T. C. ELLIOTT.

FROM MISSOULA TO WALLA WALLA IN 1857, ON HORSEBACK

In the fall (November) of the year 1857, I found myself in the Flathead Indian country, then in the Territory of Washington, where I had drifted with some Mormon Indian traders in October, 1856. At that time, 1856, there were in that country no white people except a few traders, a small Catholic Mission (the St. Ignatius), and a small Indian agency near the mouth of the Jocko river, and which was occupied by a white man named Henry G. Miller and Minnie Miller, his wife, a white woman, she being the first white woman ever in the present State of Montana, and being the only white woman then in that country. Miller and his wife came from Utah in the summer of 1856 and remained near the mouth of the Jocko river until the summer of 1857. I had remained in that country from about the middle of October, 1856, up to about the first of November, 1857, without seeing this white woman, or any other white woman during all of that time.

During all of the aforesaid time I had led something of a vagabond life, doing a little work for one or two of the Indian traders, and in hunting, fishing and trapping with the Indians and half breeds. Late in the fall of 1857, I became tired of my isolation from the white settlements, and became quite anxious to again mix with people of my own race and color, but how to do so was a serious question. The nearest place inhabited by white people was at Fort Walla Walla, in the Walla Walla Valley, about five hundred miles west of the place where I was then living, and the country intervening, being an Indian country inhabited by different tribes of Indians, many of said tribes being anything but friendly to the whites, and some of them actually in a state of hostility.

In the early fall of 1857, two men, one named Hugh O'Niel, and the other named Ransey, came into the Flathead country from Fort Colville, where they had been gold mining on the bars of the Columbia river. These men had been at Fort Walla Walla, and gave me a glowing account of that country, which made me more anxious to go there, but how to reach this land of promise was difficult to determine. About the first of November, of 1857, I had occasion to visit the Catholic Mission at Saint Ignatius, some thirty-eight miles north of the place where I was then stopping, and while there, I met a lay brother of the Cœur d'Alene Mission, who had come up from the last named Mission with a number of large pack mules, and with several half-breed men and their wives to pack down to that Mission from the Saint Ignatius Mission, the wheels, axes, etc.,

of a couple of wagons, which were taken apart, and made into packs and loaded on the mules.

The said lay brother was a good natured old Irishman, named McGeen. Brother McGeen told me that if I wanted to go to Walla Walla that he was going to start from Saint Ignatius on a day certain, within the next week, and would take a short trail to the mouth of the St. Regis Deboris river where it joined the Bitter Root or Missoula river, and if I would meet him there on a day he named, I could travel with him and his half-breeds to the Cœur d'Alene Mission, and which would be on my direct way to Fort Walla Walla. The point of meeting was about eighty miles down the Missoula river below where I was then staying.

I returned to my stopping place, fully determined to attempt the trip, full well considering the dangers to be encountered.

When the time came to make the start, it did not take a great while to make all necessary arrangements. I had two riding horses. On one of them I put a pack-saddle, and on it packed my small belongings, consisting of a single pair of blankets, a small quantity of bread and dried buffalo meat, a smal flour sack containing two extra shirts, a few old letters, a few keepsakes from my distant home, a copy of Milton's Paradise Lost, and a few "ic-tas" with which to pay Indians for ferriage, etc.

Upon the other horse I placed my riding saddle, and I was then ready for my journey. I must not forget to mention my riding horse, for I remember him with gratitude and fond recollection for the noble service that he rendered me on the trip. He was a strawberry roan of Spanish breed, and was a horse formerly owned and ridden by Pearson, Governor Stevens' noted express rider, on his long trips from The Dalles to Fort Benton and other distant points in 1855, when Governor Stevens was holding councils and negotiating treaties with the various Indian tribes in the Northwest, and from this fact the horse was always known and called Pearson.

In those days we had no riding bridles, but rode our horses with a hair rope made by the Indians of buffalo hair, the rope being placed around the lower jaw of the horse. My pack horse was led by a rope of the same kind placed around his nose and head in the form of a halter. Thus equipped, I commenced my long and dangerous journey, carrying no arms except one small butcher knife. The first day I travelled about forty miles and camped under a large pine tree without tent or fire. I hobbled my horses and turned them out to feed, grass of the finest quality being plentiful. Early on the following morning I saddled up my horses and resumed my journey, and late in the afternoon arrived on the bank of the Missoula river, opposite the mouth of the Saint Regis De Borgia river, the place

where I was to meet Brother McGeen with his Indian half-breeds with their pack animals. It seems that some mistake had been made as to the time of our starting, and that he had started one day earlier than he had intended, or that I had started one day too late, for we failed to meet at the designated point. I could see the remains of his camp fire on the opposite side of the river where he had encamped the night before, but not a man or horse was in sight.

The Missoula river at this point was, and is quite a large river, and fordable only at a very few places. I rode up and down the stream for a considerable distance, endeavoring to find the place where Brother McGeen with his pack animals had crossed, but failed to find any sign of where they had entered the river. I then turned to the place where I had first reached the river, undetermined whether to attempt to cross the stream or return again to my starting place in the Flathead country. I knew that it was a dangerous undertaking to attempt to cross, being alone. At the same time I did not want to retrace my steps, not knowing when I would have another opportunity to get out of that country. After deliberating on the matter for a short time, I determined to take the chances, and make the attempt to ford the river. I then took off all of my clothes except two woolen shirts, and tied them upon the top of my pack saddle, mounted my riding horse, leading my pack-horse, and started in.

At the place where I entered the water, it was quite shallow, but as I proceeded it gradually increased in depth, until I was about half way across the stream, where my horses struck swimming water. I kept my seat on my horse, until I was about two-thirds of the way across the stream, when, to relieve my horse of his load so as to enable him to swim with greater ease, I slipped out of my saddle on the lower side of my horse into the ice-cold water, retaining my riding rope in my hand, and catching hold of his mane with my left hand, and at the same time letting loose of the rope with which I was leading my pack-horse, and in this way swam on the lower side of my riding horse until near the shore. At this point, the water was very deep and running against a high cut bank. When my horse attempted to put his front feet on the bank, the water was so deep that his hind feet could not touch the bottom, and he reared up and fell back and came near falling upon me. I continued to hold on to my rope, and swam ashore, and then swam my horse down the stream until I found a place where he could get out; my pack-horse having swam down until he found a place where he could land. I then led my horses up to the fire of logs left burning by the McGeen party, and dry wood being plentiful, I made a large fire and warmed and dried and dressed myself, unpacked and unsaddled my horses, hobbled them and turned them out to feed and made

camp for the night, and after eating my supper of bread and dried meat, turned into my blankets, and slept as soundly as I ever did in the old farm house at my distant home down in "Dixie Land."

The next morning I made my breakfast on my bread and dried meat, packed and saddled my horses and started to overtake the McGeen party, which I did to my great relief before noon of that day.

I travelled with the party until we reached the Cœur d'Alene Mission, which took us from the crossing of the river about five or six days. Our way followed an old Indian trail which led up the Saint Regis river, crossing it many times, and which, for the most of the way, was through a forest of heavy pine, tamarack and cedar timber, and was obstructed by fallen timber, much of it of very large trees. I have seen many Indian trails, but never one so bad as this one. After following this trail for a long distance up the Saint Regis river, we left the river and crossed over the mountain on to the Cœur d'Alene river, and followed that stream down to the Mission. From the time I overtook the McGeen party until we reached the Mission, it snowed and rained nearly all of the time. The party had with them two small buffalo skin Indian lodges, in which we slept at night, which was some comfort.

Arriving at the Cœur d'Alene Mission, I was very hospitably received by the fathers then there, and I remained there two or three days to rest and recruit myself for the remainder and most dangerous part of my journey. I counselled with the fathers as to the best course to take, and they endeavored to tell me the route to take, and advised me to hire an Indian at the Mission to guide me to Snake river, and at a point above the Palouse Crossing. As I had two horses with me, I finally made a bargain with a Cœur d'Alene Indian to act as my guide, giving him one of my horses for so doing. Here I made a mistake in then and there turning the horse over to the Indian, and trusting to his honesty to do as he agreed to do. I obtained from the fathers at the Mission some bread, the shank-bone of a ham and some dried salmon, and tied my belongings and provisions on behind my riding saddle, and with my Indian guide, resumed my journey. That night we camped at a small prairie in the mountains, called "Wolf's Lodge," and the next day about noon, arrived at the foot of the Cœur d'Alene Lake, about where Fort Sherman was afterward located, where we found eight or ten lodges of Cœur d'Alene Indians in camp. Here my guide told me he could go no further, as one of his children back at the Mission was sick, and that he must return, but said he would get his brother to go on with me. After a long parley with his brother, the brother agreed to go, but had to go out on the range and get his horse. After a long delay he procured his horse, and an-

nounced himself ready to proceed. I did not like this arrangement, but as the Indian had my horse, I was forced to submit to the change of guides. We started from the Indian camp and went down the Spokane river two or three miles, and then crossed it by fording. At that time it was nearly night and time to camp. The Indian said some of his people were camped a short distance from the river, and that we would go to their camp and stay all night with them, and I, seeing nothing better, agreed to his suggestion. About one or two miles from the river, we found five or six lodges of Cœur d'Alene Indians. We rode up to the lodge of the chief, and my guide and he talked a little while, and the chief then told us to get off of our horses and unsaddle them, and he then gave them to an Indian boy to take out and put them in the Indian herd of horses, and then invited us into his lodge. The first thing after going into the lodge was to have a smoke Indian fashion, passing the pipe from one to another, from right to left, each person taking two or three draws, and then passing it to the person sitting next to him on his left. He then directed his squaw to get us some supper, which she did by baking some bread out of some coarse flour from the Mission, and giving us the bread, some dried salmon and cooked camas roots. The first thing after we had eaten our supper was to have another smoke. After the smoke was ended, the chief asked me what I had in a small flour sack that I had; when I told him he directed me to empty out its contents that he might see what was in it, and, of course,I complied with his request, as it would have been folly to have refused.

When I placed the contents on a buffalo robe, and he saw several letters, old and badly worn by carriage, he asked me what they were. I gave him to understand that they were old letters that I had received from my people back in the States, and seeing that they were old and much worn, he evidently believed me, and directed me to put all of the things back into the sack. He then told me the reason why he had made me show him what I had in the sack. He said there were a lot of white men at Fort Colville, and also soldiers at Walla Walla, and that the chief of the Colville Indians had told him that if any white men passed through his country to search them and see if they were carrying any letters from the soldiers at one place to the white men at the other place, and if they had any to take them from them.

The next morning we had a breakfast similar to the supper of the night before. Our horses were brought in, and we saddled up and resumed our journey. It was quite cloudy, and soon after we started commenced snowing lightly, but melted as it fell. We followed a very dim old Indian trail through a hilly country, sparsely timbered with pine trees. Some time

after noon, we came to a lake, and as I now remember, it was rather a narrow lake between a quarter and a half mile wide and something more than a mile long. We followed down the side of it where we first struck it to the other end. Where we first struck it, the shores of it were rough and rocky, but when we reached the other end of it, it terminated in a rather sandy plain. Here we found where ten or fifteen lodges of Indians had been encamped, and from the indications that we saw, it appeared as though the Indians had moved from the place quite recently. I asked my guide what Indians they were that had been encamped there, and he said he did not know. Said maybe they were Spokanes or Palouses, "and if they are Palouses and catch us they will kill you, but it they kill you, they will kill me, too." This was not very consoling to me. I did not care very much if they killed my guide, but I did ont really want to be killed. Some times in the following night, I was only sorry that they did not catch and kill my guide, as he really needed killing.

At the lower end of this lake, where the Indians had been encamped, there was a plain, well-worn old Indian trail, which we followed. Immediately after leaving this old Indian encampment, and in the trail which we were following, I saw something which was then a puzzle to me, and it was a puzzle that I have never been able to solve. In the trail leading from the Indian camp, were the tracks of a white man, who evidently wore a No. 10 shoe, and a rather light make of shoe. The tracks had the appearance of being quite recently made. What white man could possibly have been on foot in the country at that time was something I could not then understand, nor have I ever been able to fathom the mystery. That the tracks were made by a white man was plainly evident by the way the man walked. There were never made by an Indian. We followed this trail, leading, as I supposed in the direction of Snake river, the man's track still appearing in the trail, going in the same direction that we were going. When I left the Cœur d - lene Mission the fathers told me there was a well known landmark called St. Joseph's Mountain, to the right of which I should go. After we left the lake we commenced to go up onto an elevated prairie. It was very cloudy, and we could tell nothing about the points of the compass. A short time before night, the guide stopped and said we must have a smoke, and after we had smoked, he told me to untie a white blaknet that was tied on behind my saddle, and I did as he requested. He took the blanket and spread it out on the ground, gathered up a little snow that had remained in the roots of the bunch grass, and poured a little gunpowder into his hand on the snow and made a black mixture, and then took the blanket and with the paint made a rough map on it, showing the way we should go, at the same time claiming that one of his children was sick, and

that he wanted to go back home. I told him he must go on to Snake river. I could see that he was not in a good humor. We mounted our horses and rode on until nearly dark, when we came to a creek, with a few quite large pine trees standing near the stream, and here we camped. We unsaddled our horses, hobbled them and turned them out to feed. We then built a small fire, ate our scant supper, had a smoke and rolled up in our blankets and went to sleep. I rolled up in my blanket and went to sleep under one of the pine trees, and the guide did likewise, but at some little distance from me. I slept quite soundly until probably some time after midnight, when I woke up, and found my horse standing beside me, and the Indian and his horse gone, the scoundrel having deliberately deserted me. I looked around, but could find no trace of the Indian or his horse. I went to sleep again, and slept soundly until morning, when I ate my scanty breakfast, saddled my horse and resumed my journey. After crossing the creek I again saw this white man's track in the trail. After going two or three miles, I came to a dry valley about a half a mile wide, and as I remember it, leading off down to my right, with a large number of Indian trails running parallel with each other, and worn down deep, and here I lost all trace of the white man's track. Looking down this valley, I saw large bands of horses, and believing that these trails led down to the Palouse Crossing, which I was endeavoring to avoid, I crossed over them, and took to the prairie without any trail, going in the direction which I believed would lead me to Snake river. I was going up all the time in an elevated grass country, and about noon I came to a spring in the hills, and stopped, watered my horse, and ate my lunch. After resting myself and horse, I resumed my journey, and just about sundown (it having cleared up partially), I arrived on top of a hill on the prairie, from which point I could see a piece of water far down below me. I was at a loss to tell if it was Snake river, or a small lake. Nevertheless, I started down the hill toward it, as I needed some water, as did also my horse. A portion of the way was too steep to ride, so I walked and led my horse. After going some distance, I could hear the water roaring; then I was satisfied that it was no lake, and as I knew in reason, there could be no other river there than the Snake, I felt better. I proceeded down towards the river, following a small ravine that led down to the river. Just as I reached the mouth of the ravine, at a point where an Indian trail passed up the river, I very unexpectedly met an Indian and a squaw coming on the trail going up the river. They semed as much surprised as I was, and the Indian, who could talk a little English, and a smattering of Chinook jargon, hailed me with the usual salutation of "How," and I replied in the same manner. He asked me from whence I came, and I told him from the

Flathead country. He then asked me where I was going, and I told him to Walla Walla. He then asked me if I was alone, and I put on a bold face and told him "No," that there was a party of about fifteen white men with we who were a short distance behind.

He then told me there was a camp of some eight or ten lodges of Nez Perce Indians camped a short distance down the river, and told me to go down and camp with them, which I promised to do, without, however, intending to do so. The Indian and his squaw then rode on up the trail and I rode down to the river and watered my horse and obtained a drink myself, and waited and watched the two Indians go up the river about a half a mile, where they camped, turned their horses loose, and built a fire. I then returned to the mouth of the ravine, down which I had come, and rode back up it about a quarter of a mile, and turned up on a small depression of the prairie, and went into camp. I unsaddled my horse and turned him loose to feed. I then made a meal on my small stock of provisions, and after letting my horse feed a while, I spread down my blankets and prepared to go to sleep, but before doing so I brought my horse up near my bed, and with my hair rope put a halter on him, and tied the other end of the rope around my waist and went to sleep, and slept as sound as I ever did in my life. In the morning early, I arose, ate my breakfast out of my fast disappearing commissary, saddled my horse and started down toward the river, intending to ride down to the Indian camp and get them to put me over the river, as I knew that all of the Indians on the lower part of Snake river had good canoes. I rode to the camp and rode up to the lodge of the chief, and asked him to have some one take a canoe and put me over the river, but he absolutely refused, and told me to swim it, which to my mind was an impossibility to do. I was in a quandary, as I had reason to believe that I was only a short distance above the Palouse crossing, which I was endeavoring to avoid, believing that if I went there I would in all probability be killed. Here I was in a dilemma, as I did not want to retrace my steps back to the Coeur d'Alene Mission, and the only show I had was to cross the river, but how to do it was the question. However, I soon made up my mind to take a desperate chance, and attempt to cross. I noticed that there was considerable driftwood on the banks of the river, and at that point there was very little current in the stream, and as I had two hair ropes with me I determined to get two large sticks of driftwood and lash them together so as to make a raft, turn my horse loose and make him swim, and attempt to cross on my raft, a decidedly dangerous and desperate undertaking. While looking for a good place to make the attempt, I came on to two Indian boys with a large canoe gathering driftwood on the bank of the stream. I rode up to them

and after taking a look at them saw that they were slaves—this I could tell from the fact that their hair had been cut short. I had seen the Nez Perce Indians passing through the Flathead country going to the buffalo country and had noticed Indians of this description with them, and learned that they were slaves, being captives taken in Southern Oregon and California, and when captured their hair was cut short, and kept cut in that manner. I rode up to them and asked them to put me over the river, offering them some Indian goods which I had brought with me, consisting of a few yards of calico, Indian paint, brass tacks, etc., which I had brought with me to trade to Indians for ferriage and provisions. I showed them the goods and offered them all I had if they would put me over. At first they absolutely refused, but after talking with each other, one of them went around a bend in the river, evidently to see if they put me over if they would be seen from the Indian lodges above. When he came back they held a short conversation between themselves, and then made signs that they would cross me. They took my saddle and little pack off my horse and put them in the canoe, and told me to get it, and started across leading my horse, he swimming below the canoe. In a few minutes we were over, and a happier tenderfoot you never saw. I saddled up and started without any trail, and when I climbed to the top of the hill, I looked down the river and saw an Indian camp about three or four miles below the point where I crossed.

I travelled all that day in the direction, as I supposed of Fort Walla Walla, and over a high grass covered country, devoid of trees, streams or trails, and at night camped at a spring that I found in the hills. The next morning the country was covered with a very heavy fog, that continued nearly all that day. After traveling some distance I fell into a large Indian trail, and later in the day saw through the fog, the tops of trees, and soon came to a stream of water, which I have since learned was the Touchet river. Here I stopped and let my horse rest and feed for a while, while I consumed the remainder of my provisions.

Before leaving the Flathead country the men, O'Neil and Ramsey, had told me that the soldiers at Fort Walla Walla had been in the habit of making hay out on Dry Creek, some six or seven miles from the Fort.

After resting my horse, I resumed my journey, still following the Indian trail, and after going some distance I again saw some trees, and on arriving at them found a stream, or the bed of a stream, but do not now remember whether or no there was any water in it. After passing over this steam for a short distance, I saw where some person had been cutting grass, and going a little further I found wagon tracks where some persons had been hauling hay. I then knew that I was near the promised land, and a happier mortal never lived.

By this time the fog had lifted and I was enabled to see for quite a distance. I rode on a few miles, and saw a band of horses off some distance from the trail. The horses looked to be too large for Indian horses, and as I drew nearer to them, I saw two mounted men, apparently herding them. I rode towards them and soon discovered that the two men wore blue overcoats. I rode up to them, and found that they were two soldiers herding dragoon horses. Then I felt that my troubles and fears for personal safety were all over. I asked them how far it was to the Fort, and they told me about two miles. I rode on and soon came in sight of the Dragoon Cantonment, and as I came to Mill Creek, just above the Suttler's Store, I met Col. William Craig, Henry G. Miller and William Scott. I had a letter for Col. Craig, which had been given me by Henri M. Chase, which I handed to Col. Craig, and, after reading it, he told me the road leading to his house, about one mile distant, and told me to go there and stop, and that he would soon be at home. I went to the house, turned my horse out and prepared to take a rest, being nearly tired out, and that night had the first good square meal, the first that I had had for many days, and to which I did full justice. This ended one of the most venturesome and dangerous journeys ever taken by a young tenderfoot.

NOTE—I went to Spokane in August, 1911, and went out to Liberty Lake, some twelve miles from the City of Spokane, and feel satisfied that the lake that I found on my journey was Liberty Lake, and as I crossed no stream after leaving the lake, except the stream on which I camped when my Indian guide left me, I am constrained to believe that stream was what is now called "Hangman's Creek."

FRANK H. WOODY.

THE WHITMAN CONTROVERSY*

268 Jayne Street, Oakland, Cal., July 1st, 1912.

Mr. Thomas W. Prosch,
621 Ninth Avenue,
Seattle, Wash.

My dear Friend:

In your letter of June 24th you said you would be glad to receive the papers printed in the Sunday School Times of Philadelphia, Pa., relating to the Whitman controversy. I have been looking them up, and will send them to you, although I have no doubt but that you have already seen them. Pardon my accompanying them with my comments.

Take the one from Professor Bourne first, as he is the principal one who has ever opposed the claim of the friends of Dr. Whitman. I once prepared a reply to his criticism as set forth in his "Legend of Marcus Whitman," and went to Portland, Oregon, at the time of the Fair in 1905, intending to have a public discussion with him, but it happened, unfortunately, that while there I was invited to accompany a niece of mine on a pleasure trip to Alaska; we were gone twelve days, and during that time Professor Bourne had been there and gone. I was very sorry, for I wanted very much to meet him.

I was prepared to show that in his "Legend of Marcus Whitman" he had been very unfair, as he had quoted everything he could find, or could twist, to bear against Doctor Whitman, and omitted to quote anything that could possibly be construed in his favor,, although there was much within his reach. I was prepared to show where he had done this in many places, and if I now had my copy of his book I could give the pages. I remember one expression he made—I do not remember the exact words, but give the substance—that he could not understand why so many people of sound mind could be so deceived in regard to Doctor Whitman. I wrote on the margin of the leaf: "This reminds me of the story of the lone

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*The following letter, from General J. C. Strong, one of the early pioneers of Washington (1850), now living at Oakland, California, in his 87th year, is given by the person addressed to the Washington Historical Quarterly for publication. It is one more, and the latest, of a vast number of papers and books published for or against the legends of Oregon being saved to the United States by the efforts and representations of Doctor Marcus Whitman. Aside from its value as a historical paper, this letter has interest from the facts of the personal acquaintance of its author, and his kinsman, Doctor Strong, with the martyred Whitman seventy years ago. Readers of the Quarterly will be glad to see it. T. W. P.

juror, who, when the judge asked the jury why they couldn't agree, said, 'Judge, there isn't any use, eleven men on this jury haven't any brains.' "

I feel confident that if Professor Bourne had not occupied the high position he did, his "Legend of Marcus Whitman" would have fallen flat. When a person who claims to be a searcher after truth in history—as Professor Bourne does—finds a disputed point, he is expected to examine both sides fairly, and weigh the evidence with honest scales; if he does not, his conclusions are of little value and should be considered unfair and unreliable.

When I went to Portland in 1905, I was prepared with facts to show that he had been unfair in his criticisms, and with some questions which I think would have troubled him to answer even to his own satisfaction.

First: Why did Doctor Whitman go to Washington before going to Boston to see the Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions if his errand was not political? For a long time the Anti-Whitmanites declared that he did not go to Washington at all, and not until it began to look too absurd to deny, did they admit it; knowing that the government at Washington had nothing whatever to do with the missions; and even then, Mrs. Frances F. Victor, who was one of their best writers, assumed to put into the Doctor's mouth just the words he used to the President and Mr. Webster.

Second: Why did Dr. Whitman never speak of going East until after Doctor White's visit?

Third: And if settling Oregon with American families was not a part of his errand, why did he get Mr. Lovejoy, who had just come to Oregon with Doctor White, to go immediately back with him?

It certainly could not have been for his influence in getting the A. B. C. F. M. to change its order; and why did Mr. Lovejoy stop at Fort Bent and work strenuously to get Americans with families to go to Oregon, unless that was just what Doctor Whitman and he had agreed upon before starting? It seems to me that when the friends of Doctor Whitman reenforce their direct proof that his main errand East was political, with the fact that he went to Washington before going to Boston, it establishes the fact that he went East on some political errand, and throws the burden of proving what that errand was upon those who deny it, and they should prove what it was, not negatively, but positively.

Professor Bourne, in his letter published in the "Sunday School Times," after asking the question, "Was there any danger in 1842-3 that the United States would give up or lose what we now know as Oregon?" says, under the head of "Attitude of President and Senate":

"President Tyler wrote his son December 11, 1845" (two years after Doctor Whitman had been to Washington), "I looked exclusively to an adjustment by the forty-ninth degree, and never dreamed for a moment of surrendering the free navigation of the Columbia—I never dreamed of ceding this country," (that is between the Columbia and 49th parallel) "unless, for the greater equivalent of California, which I fancied Great Britain might be able to obtain for us through her influence in Mexico."

Here is one of the many instances of Professor Bourne's unfairness. Why does he not say,—to account for the foregoing:—unless, that at the time Doctor Whitman went to Washington there was in existence a tri-party agreement between Great Britain, the United States, and Mexico, by which the United States had bound itself to cede all her interests in the Oregon Country to Great Britain for the greater equivalent of California, and the only reason it had not been done was because Mexico was slow; and that after Doctor Whitman had been to Washington and convinced the government of the great value of the Oregon Country, our government stopped urging Great Britain to use her influence with Mexico, and the matter was dropped to give the government further time to look into it, which resulted in keeping Oregon as part of the United States.

Of course, Professor Bourne knew of the Triparty Agreement, but does not mention it. Why? Because that being the case, the Oregon Country was really in danger, and that would tend to favor the claim of Doctor Whitman's friends.

Again he says: "Second. As to the attitude of the Senate. On February 3rd, 1843, the Senate passed the Linn bill, providing for the immediate extension of the laws of the United States over the entire Oregon territory, the erection of courts, and the granting of lands to settlers."

This is another instance of unfairness. Professor Bourne knew that the Linn bill hung fire, and did not become a law until seven years after Doctor Whitman visited Washington.

Again, under the head of "Why did Whitman come East?" he says: "If Oregon was not in danger of being surrendered to England, what then was Doctor Whitman's motive for his journey?"

He then makes such extracts from the contemporary records, diaries, and letters, as he thinks will best air the trouble of the Mission with the A. B. C. F. M. No friend of Doctor Whitman denies that the mission was having trouble with the Prudential Committee of the A. B. C. F. M., and that that trouble was one of his objects in going East; but if that was his only object, or his main one, why did he give the Board in Boston the go by, and go on to Washington, where he knew he would not, and could not, get relief?

Professor Bourne concludes his letter by saying: "And that was the reason for Marcus Whitman's journey East," (as if he could not have but one reason, or object) "to induce the American Board not to abandon, but to re-enforce, his Mission Station."

Then why did he go to Washington first? It is not natural for a man to go miles out of his way to reach persons, who, as I have said, he knew had nothing whatever to do with his grievance; and if he had two reasons or objects in view, and that he had is conclusively proven by his friends, would it not be in accordance with all natural law, that he should attend to the one he deemed of most importance first.

Professor John Porter Lamberton sends two letters to the Sunday School Times. He advances nothing new, but relies entirely upon Professor Bourne's criticisms as absolutely conclusive; and as I have replied to Professor Bourne, I will only notice one item in his letters. He says: "There is record that very few in Oregon believe it, and the officers of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions discountenances it. The early numbers of the "Missionary Herald" are silent about it. The record of Whitman's life there given is very brief."

He was probably not aware of the fact that the answer to that criticism tended strongly to prove the political nature of the Doctor's journey, as I will show later on.

Rev. Edward E. Strong, DD., (who is a cousin of mine, and with whom I have often talked on this subject, was the Editorial Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions at the time Doctor Whitman came East in 1842-3), sends a letter to the Sunday School Times, from which I quote in part:

"The chief argument against the claim in behalf of Whitman is based on the incompleteness of contemporaneous accounts. There is a reason for this incompleteness. Whitman was well aware, as were the supporters of the American Board at that time, that the officers of the Board had a strong feeling that he was devoting his attention to political rather than missionary ends. He came from Oregon without permission of the Committee, and was well aware that his scheme did not have the full sympathy of those at the missionary rooms. It was most natural, therefore, that he did not say much in his letters or in his personal interviews about his convictions or his plans. He was more far-seeing than his directors, and notwithstanding the divergence in their views, he held to his convictions. This certainly would be enough to account for the meagerness of the records of our Board in regard to this incident; but I think I can say that in what records we have, there is nothing to contradict the common version of the Whitman story. The fact that that story is not told in our records is far

from furnishing convincing evidence that the story was not true." Does not this fully answer Professor Lambertson's criticism on this point?

The Editor of the Sunday School Times wrote to Docotr Strong for a second letter, to which he replied as follows:

"In response to your letter of December 31st, I may add a little to the statements made in my letter which was presented in the Sunday School Times, affirming that there is nothing in the records of our American Board which militates against the claim made that Marcus Whitman saved Oregon to the Union. The records of the Board show that Doctor Whitman came to Washington, and that he subsequently appeared in Boston, very much to the surprise of the Secretaries, having left his mission without the authorization of the Committee. He had his own plans for the Board's mission in Oregon, and for conducting a party across the mountains to settle in that territory. Though the Prudential Committee had not favored the scheme which he had proposed, it is evident from the records of the Committee, at its meeting of April 4th, 1843, that Whitman's personal statements carried conviction in regard to most of the points he had on his mind. They approved of Doctor Whitman's ideas respecting the conduct of the Mission. The minutes of that day also mention the presentation by Doctor Whitman of his plans for taking with him, on his return to the Mission, a company of 'intelligent and pious laymen to settle at or near the Mission Station, but without expense to the Board or in connection with it.' This plan is given approval if the right men can be found."

The reluctance of the Prudential Committee to connect the Board with any political movement, or any enterprise not strictly missionary in its character, was doubtless the reason why so little is said in its records about that side of Whitman's work. But the action taken on that 4th of April, 1843, is conclusive as to what Whitman's plan was, and especially of his purpose to take the company of immigrants across the mountains to Oregon. That he carried out this plan and took such a company is a fact sufficiently established. The feat was a most remarkable one, but the American Board never discussed the political side of it. How much the plans and achievements of the heroic missionary had to do with saving Oregon to the United States is a point which, of course, could not be decided by reference to the documents at the missionary rooms."

Professor C. W. Darrow, of Tacoma, sends a letter to the Sunday School Times against the claim made by the friends of Doctor Whitman. He merely quotes from Reverend H. K. Hines, D. D., who says: "Whitman's coming and work was antedated by two years by those of Jason Lee, Cyrus Shephard, and P. S. Edwards. Their place as the pioneers of American life in Oregon can never be disputed by any fair historian.

Whether their services or his were the greater after his arrival in Oregon it is not the object of this article to discuss. Those who claim that his were such as to enable him to be exalted as the one man who "saved Oregon to the United States," rest that claim on two assumed facts, namely: First—The influence he had on the course and conclusion of the negotiations between England and the United States, commenced with the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842." He then asks: "What then did Doctor Whitman atcually have to do with the Webster-Ashburton Treaty?" Here is were Doctor Hines made a great mistake. It is not claimed by the friends of Doctor Whitman that he ever had anything whatever to do with the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. Why should he? That treaty had nothing whatever to do with the Oregon Country. It only settled the northeastern boundary line between England and the State of Maine, New Brunswick et al., as can be seen by reference to the treaty, which can be found among the"Treaties and Conventions between the United States and other Powers' 'in any reference library. The treaty that settled the title to the Oregon Country was the James Buchanan and Richard Packenham Treaty made June 15th, 1846. Doctor Hines is also mistaken in thinking that any friend of Doctor Whitman would for a moment think of detracting one iota from the services of those noble and self-sacrificing missionaries, or of depriving them of the honor of being the pioneers of American life in Oregon.

But that is not the question. The claim made for Doctor Whitman by his friends must stand or fall upon the one question, i. e., Did his going to Washington in the spring of 1842-3 have any effect upon the action of the government in regard to the Oregon Country?

Then again,—as to his having anything to do with the immigration of 1843, no friend of Doctor Whitman ever claimed that he was the only man who raised the immigration of 1843; there were many working for the same object; but that he originated the idea, planned the arrangements, and was General-in-Chief of it, is proved conclusively.

Principal William I. Marshall in the Portland Oregonian of August 24th, 1906, claimed that the statements made by some of the Whitmanites were untrue, and if he quotes them correctly, they certainly were untrue. If human testimony can be relied upon to establish a fact, if upon reliable evidence a man can know anything to be true of which he has no personal knowledge, it certainly is a truth that the Hudson Bay Company never opposed the coming of missionaries, regardless of denomination or nationality, but always assisted them in getting a start at self support.

The Company, however, did not like to see the country filling up with American traders or settlers, which feeling caused much friction between it and the early settlers and made it many enemies.

In 1906 Marshall wrote a book in which he says that "Whitman could have given no esesntial information in 1843 not already in the hands of the government at Washington." It is not claimed by the friends of Doctor Whitman that he went to Washington for any other purpose than to amplify the value of the Oregon Country. The extravagant and unreliable writings of Spalding and Gray—and some others—were of great detriment to the Whitman claim. Mr. Eells could not admit that Doctor Whitman did not originate the immigration of 1843, as stated, as that is contrary to all the proofs. It is claimed by the Anti-Whitmanites that Oregon was not in danger, but none of them mention the Triparty Agreement between Great Britain, the United States, and Mexico that was in existence at that time. If, as claimed by some of the Doctor's opponents, Whitman must rest his title to fame not upon any political services rendered, but upon his work as a pioneer, then he has none, as he was antedated two years by Jason Lee, Cyrus Shepherd, and P. S. Edwards, good and faithful missionaries, who did as good work among the Indians as Doctor Whitman.

But the letters of Reverend Doctor Strong, hereinbefore quoted, who was the Editorial Secretary of the American Board, and who was a highly educated man, prove conclusively that Doctor Whitman had two objects in view in coming East, one political and the other for the benefit of his Mission; and Dr. Strong explains why the records are silent upon the political side of the question, and he, being Secretary, had a much better opportunity to know the truth than any outsider.

Professor Henry W. Paker, son of Reverend Samuel Parker, who enlisted Whitman as his associate missionary to Oregon, sends a letter to the Sunday School Times, from which I quote in part:—

"There is one incidental fact that has been overlooked by others and myself as bearing on what Doctor Whitman accomplished in Washington. A part of his report, as given by him to many worthy witnesses, was President Tyler's promise to send Colonel Fremont to accompany or follow the migration of 1843. The significant fact is that the orders to Fremont were countermanded just as he was leaving the frontier. Why so, if it was only a scientific expedition that merely happened to start that year? Why, unless the opponents of Oregon, in those years of fierce controversy about it, secured the countermand in connection with the migration? Mrs. Fremont, true to her pro-Oregon father, Colonel Benton, suppressed by delay the countermand. We have the facts that Fremont made his first expedition beyond the mountains that year; that he left the frontier with his armed escort only a week after the great migration; that he went to Doctor Whitman's Station and down the Columbia, and a second time to

Doctor Whitman's. All this, confirmed by the countermand, agrees with the Doctor's report after visiting the National Capitol. Such incidental facts go far to substantiate the whole story, already sustained by indubitable direct testimonies. The fact that the Secretary of War did recommend military posts on the route, and that Senator Linn's bill for encouragement ot settlers passed the Senate, do not show that Oregon was in no danger of being lost. There is abundance of documentary proof in Congressional Records and in contemporary newspapers that efforts for Oregon were fiercely contested for many years. Columns could be filled with quotations, if at all necessary. As to Linn's bill, why suppress the fact that it hung fire until seven years after Doctor Whitman's ride to Washington?

In regard to merely negative evidence marshalled forth in long extracts from missionary letters, it is not only susceptible of quite another interpretation, but it has another, according to their testimonies. They avoid any reference to Doctor Whitman's chief purpose for the reasons they mention,—sensitiveness to reproach for anything outside of their religious work, and prudence in regard to the Hudson Bay Company; not to speak of presumable prudence, at that stage of the matter, in writing to friends of the American Board. These facts illustrate the fallacy of confining the questions to documents written at the time, and that happened to survive after sixty or seventy years. That method would throw out much of well settled history. The numerous testimonies of persons who knew Doctor Whitman and were familiar with him, and others of no less high character whom he met, are first hand testimony, agreeing in all important respects, and all together constitute a mass of the best possible proof, and go back to Doctor Whitman's return to Oregon, and thence onward.

William A. Mowry sends the Sunday School Times the following statement from the pen of Rev. Myron Eells, D. D., son of Reverend Doctor Cushing Eells, from which I quote in part:

"As to the danger of losing Oregon, or a part of it, from the diary of J. Q. Adams, and the Life of President Tyler, we learn that there was a tripartite plan on hand for which Tyler and Webster were working in 1842 and 1843. England, Mexico, and the United States were the three parties to it. If carried out, England would have taken all Oregon north of the Columbia River; the United States was to obtain California, so far south as thirty-six degrees; Texas was to become independent; and England was to furnish certain sums to help the United States purchase the land from Mexico. England and the United States had agreed to this, but Mexico was slow, not giving her consent until about the time, or after, Doctor Whitman was in Washington. Tyler wrote about it evidently

early in 1843:—'The assent of Mexico to such a treaty is all that is necessary as to all its parts, a surrender of her title is all that is wanting.' (Tyler's Life, Vol. II., page 261.) Again: In February, 1843, President Tyler had made such propositions to England as would make it impossible to have signed a bill granting any lands to settlers in Oregon."

Professor Wilder Fairbank of Boston sends a letter to the Sunday School Times containing an affidavit from Reverend Cushing Eells, D. D., who was the associate of Doctor Whitman in his missionary work in Oregon, and who was one of the men who authorized Whitman's leaving his Mission to go East: "September, 1842, a letter written by Doctor Whitman addressed to the Reverend Messrs. E. Walker and C. Eells at Tshimakin, reached its destination, and was received by the parties to whom it was written. By the contents of said letter a meeting of the Oregon Mission of the A. B. C. F. M. was invited to be held at Waiilatpu. The object of said meeting, as stated in the letter named, was to approve of a purpose formed by Doctor Whitman, that he go East in behalf of Oregon as related to the United States. In the judgment of Mr. Walker and myself, that object was foreign to our assigned work. With troubled thoughts we anticipated the proposed meeting. On the following day, Wednesday, we started, and on Saturday afternoon camped on the Touchet at the ford near the Mullan Bridge. We were pleased with the prospect of enjoying a period of rest, reflection, and prayer, needful preparation for the antagonism of opposing ideas. On Monday we arrived at Waiilatpu and met the two resident families of Messrs. Whitman and Gray. The Reverend H. H. Spalding was there. All the male members of the Mission were thus together. In the discussion the opinion of Mr. Walker and myself remained unchanged. The purpose of Doctor Whitman was fixed. In his estimation, the saving of Oregon to the United States was of paramount importance, and he would make the attempt to do so, even if he had to withdraw from the Mission in order to accomplish his purpose. In reply to considerations intended to hold Doctor Whitman to his assigned work, he said: 'I am not expatriated by becoming a missionary.' The idea of his withdrawal could not be entertained; therefore, to retain him in the Mission, a vote to approve of his making the perilous endeavor prevailed. Record of the date and acts of the meeting was made. The book containing the same was in the keeping of the Whitman family. At the time of their massacre, November 29th, 1847, it disappeared. I solemnly affirm that the foregoing statements are true and correct according to the best of my knowledge and belief, so help me God. (Signed) Cushing Eells."

"Sworn and subscribed before me this 25th day of August, 1883. (Signed) S. E. Kellogg, Notary Public, Spokane County, Washington Territory."

Query: Was such a meeting held at the Mission, and did Doctor Whitman say, "I am not expatriated by becoming a missionary," and did he look upon the saving of Oregon to the United States as of paramount importance and say he would make the attempt to save it, even if he had to withdraw from the Mission; or has Reverend Cushing Eells deliberately sworn to a falsehood (which is unthinkable)?

If then it is true—accompanied by the fact that when he arrived in the States he went immediately to Washington—does it not prove beyond question that the saving of Oregon to the United States was one of the objects he had in view, and the main one for going east in the winter of 1842-3.

Doctor Whitman personally interested me in Oregon and influenced my coming, which was in 1850, and having known his mother and his relatives in Rushville, N. Y., the town where we all then lived, I became very much interested when I heard of the controversy and took great pains to examine all the evidence, pro and con, relating to the saved Oregon story, and have come to the conclusion that he is entitled to all that his friends claim for him.

I send you with this all the papers I have that were sent to the Sunday School Times during the Whitman controversy; also a letter from a relative of his giving some interesting informtaion in regard to Doctor Whitman's family. JAMES CLARK STRONG.

THE PIONEER DEAD OF 1911*

Foster, Joseph.—Born in Canada, April 10, 1828; died near Seattle, Jan. 16th, aged almost 83 years. He came with his parents in 1833 to Ohio. In 1852 he removed to the Pacific coast, and the year following settled in Duwamish valley, where for fifty-eight years he made his home, engaged in farming. He was a member of the Legislature many times, more, it is said, than any other Washingtonian. He was survived by a wife (Martha J. Steele, married 1865) and one son.

Coombs, Rachel.—Born in Canada, died in Seattle, Feb. 20th, aged 79 years. Mrs. Coombs, as Rachel Boyd, was married to Samuel Fuller Coombs in 1855. In 1859 he came to Puget Sound, and she followed him in 1862. Except for a few months at Port Madison, all her subsequent life was spent in Seattle. She had six children, three of whom yet live. Mr. Coombs died in 1908.

Chehobs, Henry.—He was a Cowlitz Indian, who died Feb. 22d. He was the son of a chief. He used to say that he remembered the coming of Lewis and Clark in 1805-06. He was reported to be 116 years old. He was given a white man's funeral and burial by one of his pioneer friends, Mr. T. W. Robin.

Cooper, Mary.—Mrs. Cooper is said to have been born in California in 1831, and to have lived all her life on the Pacific coast. She was the wife of John Cooper, a pioneer of 1848. He died several years ago. She died at Port Ludlow early in March, leaving six sons and daughters.

Thomas, John M.—Born in Kentucky, July 8th, 1829; died in Okanogan county in March. Mr. Thomas was a Pacific coast pioneer of 1852. The following year he was at Alki in King county. In 1854 he and Nancy Russell were married. In the Indian war of 1855-56 he was a volunteer. Until a few years before his death the family home was on their donation claim in White River valley, where the Northern Pacific station called Thomas is now located. His wife preceded him. He left six daughters and three sons.

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*In the matter following the biographer has drawn his information from the newspapers of the day. In some cases the statements were meager, and thereby was prevented the uniformity and consistency desired. There were other pioneers, no doubt, of whose going he had no newspaper account, or other knowledge; hence, their absence here. For the purposes of this article those persons were considered pioneers who lived on the Pacific Coast fifty years or more ago, and who also lived in the Territory of Washington. T. W. P.

Savage, Bessie Isaacs.—Born in Walla Walla in January, 1861; died in Seattle, March 10, aged 50 years and 2 months. Mrs. Savage was the daughter of Henry P. Isaacs, who came to the Pacific in 1849, and was long a prominent citizen of Walla Walla. She was a graduate both of Whitman College and Mills College. Her husband was George M. Savage. She was one of the longest time and most prominent of women club members, belonging to several different organizations, and being officer a number of times. Her death unexpectedly occurred at one of the Century Club meetings.

Logan, Mary P.—Mrs. Logan was born in Missouri, the daughter of Daniel Waldo. The family came to Oregon in 1843, and settled in Marion county. Her father was one of the most prominent of early Oregonians. The Waldo hills got their name from him. Mrs. Logan owned property and lived for a time in Seattle, where several relatives reside. She died at Salem on the 8th of March.

Wallis, Nellie.—As the wife of Thomas McNatt she crossed the plains in 1852. From that time to the end she lived at different places in Oregon and Washington. In 1861 Mr. McNatt died, and twenty years later she married W. M. Wallis, with whom she lived at Port Ludlow until her death in March. She was 80 years of age.

Snyder, Sarah Elizabeth. She crossed the plains with her husband, Samuel Snyder, in 1857, her marriage with whom extended over a period of fifty years. They lived at various places in Oregon and Washington, but finally in Duwamish valley, where both died, she in March. Mrs. Snyder was the mother of twelve children, ten of whom survive her. Her age was 75 years.

Spinning, Charles Hadley. Born in Indiana, Jan. 23d, 1821; died at Prosser, April 1st, aged 90 years. He crossed the continent sixty years ago, settling first in Lewis county and then in Pierce, where for fifty-two years he dwelt. Dr. Spinning was husband of Mildred D. Stewart. He was a Territorial Legislator, U. S. Indian official, and for years the only practicing physician in Pierce county.

Lane, Timothy. Born in Ohio, died in Pierce county in April, aged 72 years. Mr. Lane was a member of the Daniel E. Lane family, which crossed the plains and over the Naches Pass in 1853. From that time on Timothy Lane was a farmer, either in Pierce county or Eastern Washington. A widow, three daughters and three sons survive him. All the original lane family—five members—are now gone but William, who lives in Pierce county.

Eldridge, Teresa.—Born in Ireland, June 24, 1832; died at Bellingham, May 10, aged 79 years. She came to New York in 1850, and in 1851 to San Francisco. Among those on the ship was Edward Eldridge, second mate. They became acquainted, and in 1852 were married. In 1853 they came north and settled in Whatcom, where both remained to the end of their days on earth. She was the first white woman to live in the present city of Bellingham. Their donation claim included 320 acres, worth now many millions of dollars. Their son, Edward (1855), was the first white child born in Whatcom county. Hugh Eldridge, of their children, alone survives this worthy couple.

Reynolds, John N.—Born in Kentucky, died in Tacoma, May 18th, aged 78 years. He came to Olympia in 1859, thence going to Oregon, and finally coming to Tacoma in 1880. He was a widower, but had two daughters, Mrs. Fremont Campbell and Mrs. P. A. Page.

Thompson, John A.—Born in Maine; died at Port Gamble, May 21st, aged 74 years. He came to the Pacific coast in 1858, and was in the employ of the Puget Mill Company during the fifty-three years following. Could there be a stronger testimonial to his reliability and faithfulness? His wife, Sarah V., followed him from Maine, and she, too, spent the entire remainder of her days at Port Gamble. She died in Seattle, July 20th, aged 70. They left one son and three daughters.

Meyer, Frederick. Born in Germany; died in Pierce county, June 23d, aged 86 years. Mr. Meyer came as a soldier in Captain Bennett H. Hill's company, in 1849, when the military post of Fort Steilacoom was established. He remained there sixty-two years. He was twice married, having several children by his first wife. His second wife was Agnetta, widow of Thomas M. Chambers, who was a pioneer of 1852. She also soon followed her second husband to the grave, her death occurring Dec. 24th. She left a son and a daughter.

Robinson, Reuben S.—Born in New York, April 27th, 1823; died in Seattle, June 27th. He came to California among the first of the gold-seekers, but soon moved on to Puget Sound, locating in Jefferson county. He took prominent part in the Indian war of 1855-56. He was twice a member of the Territorial Legislature, and for many years was county commissioner. His wife died in 1908. He left five children.

Bullard, Job.—Born in Vermont; died in Pacific county, July 3d, aged 84 years. In 1852 he came to Washington Territory. For a time he lived in Chehalis county, which he represented in the Legislature of 1856-57. In 1857 he married Martha E. Wilson. He did some lumbering, but was a farmer in Willapa valley. He left two children.

Greenwood, George.—Born in England; died in Snohomish, July 9th, aged 94 years. He had lived on Puget Sound more than fifty years, mostly in Snohomish county. A wife and daughter and several grandchildren survive him.

Maple, Eli B.—Born in Ohio, Nov. 12, 1831; died in Oregon, July 19th. Mr. Maple came in 1852, taking a donation claim at the mouth of the Duwamish river, near the claims of his brother, Samuel, and the other first residents, taken the year before. He served as a volunteer in the 1855-56 Indian war, during the whole period, twice enlisting. A widow, four sons and one daughter were left.

Doyle, Chloe A.—Born in New York in 1827; died in Seattle, Aug. 6th, aged 84 years. She came across the plains with her brother-in-law, Dr. J. C. Kellogg, in 1852. The next year she married Reuben L. Doyle, one of the first printers and publishers of Washington Territory. They settled on Whidby Island in 1853. He died many years ago. She left a number of relatives.

Cresap, Robert Vinton.—Died in Clark county, Sept. 1st, aged 75 years. He was said to be a pioneer, gold hunter and Indian war fighter. He served in an Oregon regiment from 1861 to 1864. After that he made his home on a farm in Clark county. He left one son.

White, Deborah.—Died at Port Gamble in September, aged 73 years. She had lived there since 1862. James White, her husband, was blacksmith for the mill company more than half a century. He died in 1910. They left no children.

Prosser, William Farrand.—Born in Pennsylvania; died in Seattle, Sept. 23d, aged 77 years. Colonel Prosser came to California in 1854 and stayed there until the breaking out of the Civil War, when he went East and entered the military service in defense of the Union. After the war he represented the Nashville (Tenn.) district in Congress. In 1878 he came to Washington Territory as special agent of the Interior Department. Thenceforth he lived in Seattle, North Yakima and Prosser, the latter town, in Benton county, being named after him. He held numerous public offices, municipal, county, state and national, and was engaged in many private and public works of importance to the people and credit to himself. In 1880 he was married to Miss Flora Thornton. They had three children, with the mother, all surviving.

Morse, Mrs. G. W.—Born in Australia in 1839; died on Whidby Island, Oct. 3d. She and her husband came to Puget Sound in 1860, and settled on Whidby. She left many relatives—three brothers, two sisters, a husband, three daughters, five sons and twenty grandchildren.

Ferguson, Emory Canda.—Born in New York, March 5, 1833; died at Snohomish, Oct. 8th. He came to California in 1854, and to Puget Sound in 1858. He did some gold mining, worked in a sawmill, and labored wherever and whenever he could to advantage. He went to Snohomish, took a land claim and started the town. Thereafter he was postmaster, mayor, legislator, merchant and leading citizen to the time of his physical breaking down. His wife was Lucetta G. Morgan. They had four children, three of whom survived both him and her.

Willard, Sarah J.—Born in Missouri, Nov. 12, 1841; died in Seattle, Oct. 16th. She came to Oregon in 1850, and a year later was living at what is now Centralia with her grandparents. She afterwards went to school in Olympia, and there in due time was married to Dr. Rufus Willard. Her family name was Fletcher. The Willards left Olympia for Fort Steilacoom, where the doctor was superintendent of the hospital. From there, after a number of years, they moved on to Seattle. He died in 1905. They left two children.

Boatman, Mary Ann.—Born in 1833; died at Puyallup, Oct. 24th. Mrs. Boatman and her husband, Willis Boatman, came to Oregon in 1852 from Illinois. After a few weeks overlooking the country, they settled in Pierce county. There they remained, farming, rearing their family, and living the lives of good citizens. A few days before her death Mr. and Mrs. Boatman celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of their wedding. Mr. Boatman and six children survive.

Walters, Jane A.—Born in Canada in 1830; died at Tacoma, Nov. 29th. She and her husband, Augustus Walters, came to California in 1852, and to Washington in 1873. Mr. Walters died several years before his wife. They left three grandchildren.

Jeffs, Mary.—Born in Washington in 1838; died at Thomas, in King county, Nov. 24th. She was an Indian woman. About fifty years before, she married Richard Jeffs, a White river farmer. They became wealthy, their property attaining a value of several hundred thousand dollars. Having no children and direct heirs, they wanted and tried to leave their property for the establishment and endowment of an orphan's home. He died three years before. Subsequently efforts were made by other persons to defeat the benevolent intentions of Jeffs and his Indian wife, with a view to acquiring the estate, or parts of it, by the individuals referred to, efforts that, happily, experienced only a small measure of success.

Heg, May.—Born in Oregon in 1862; died at Seattle, Dec. 6th. She was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Henry G. Thornton, both de-

ceased. She married Dr. Elmer E. Heg. She left a husband and two sons, and a number of other relatives.

White, Margaret I.—Born in Missouri in 1836; died at Oakland, Cal., Dec. 16th. She came to California in 1852, her mother dying on the overland route. Upon arrival, she learned that her father, who had preceded them, was also dead. Thus—a 16-year-old girl—as the oldest member, she became at once the head of a family of children. She married William W. White, and in 1858 they came to Seattle. She left five sons and three daughters.

Chambers, Margaret White.—Born in Indiana in 1833; died in Seattle, Dec. 22d. Mrs. Chambers lost both parents when seven years old, and lived thereafter with her brothers and sisters until she acquired a home of her own. In 1851 she, with her three brothers, came West, and in 1852 she was living in Thurston county. In 1853 she married Andrew J. Chambers, a member of one of the largest and best known families of early Oregon and Washington pioneers, coming to Willamette valley in 1845 and to Puget Sound in 1847. They lived together nearly fifty-five years. He died in 1908. They left six children, all daughters.

Biles, George W.—Born in 1839 in Kentucky; died in Olympia, Dec. 31st. He came with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. James Biles, to Washington Territory in 1853, they being a part of the large and historic company of immigrants who that year crossed the Cascade Mountains by the Naches Pass, James Biles being the leader and captain. This company included many families who afterwards became distinguished in the affairs of King, Pierce, Thurston and Chehalis counties, and of the Territory. The family located at Tumwater, where Mr. Biles engaged in the business of tanning hides, or making leather. George W. Biles was married in 1864, his wife being a member of the Crosby family. She and two sons survive him.

THOMAS W. PROSCH.

BOOK REVIEWS

FIFTY YEARS IN OREGON. By T. T. Geer. (New York, The Neal Publishing Company, 1912. Pp. 536, $3.)

The title of this book indicates its character. The period named might have been extended, as the author was born in Oregon in 1851, has always lived there, and has made his work cover all the seventy or eighty years prior to 1912. He was the son of parents who came from the Mississippi Valley in 1847. They were among those who lived under the Provisional Government, who secured a mile-square donation claim, who were contemporary with the fur traders, the missionaries and the first American settlers. They saw Oregon change into a territory in 1849, and ten years later into a state, and from that time on witnessed the development and progress of a great commonwealth. With such antecedents the son—Theodore Thurston—could not be other than interested in the first things and first people of his native, home state. He is as proud of it as a man can be, and that there is the kindest possible feeling entertained for him in return is evident from the many public endorsements and honors he has received—repeated elections to the Legislature, election as Governor, and a primary election majority of thirteen thousand votes for United States Senator. With him no climate elsewhere, no scenery, no natural resources, no anything that is good and great, no matter where, surpasses Oregon, and when summed up altogether no other locality equals it. The writer hereof is constrained to believe that Governor Geer includes Washington in this generous appraisement, as a part of Old Oregon. If he doesn't, it is because he isn't so well acquainted with Washington as with Oregon, or so well acquainted with Washington as I am.

From start to finsih Governor Geer's book relates to the men and women who have made Oregon—to Dr. John McLoughlin, Jason Lee, F. X. Matthieu, Ewing Young, Jo Meek, Jo Lane, James W. Nesmith, Lafayette Grover, Harvey W. Scott, John H. Mitchell, Asahel Bush, and the host of others—merchants, farmers, politicians, preachers, lawyers and the like—down to the present day. Having known these people in most cases long and intimately, and having himself been a prominent actor in Oregon events, he was well qualified for the task he attempted. He is a man of large physical frame, with a full grown heart, well-balanced mind, and a disposition to do all men justice. These traits, coupled with

good nature and a great fund of entertaining information of personal character, with fair literary ability, have enabled him to get out a book that is not only valuable, but delightful.

His attachment to the Oregon Institute—now the Willamette University—which he attended as a student in 1863, '64, '65, is pleasant to witness. He has good words for all connected with it, including the trustees, those good Methodist brethren, Leslie, Roberts, Abernethy, Willson, Pearne, Waller, Driver, Wilbur and Flinn, as well as the laymen and the members of the faculty and the students. L. J. Powell and Thomas M. Gatch, who later were in turn President of the Washington State University, are most kindly referred to. Gatch, who yet lives in Seattle, is declared by Geer "by common consent to stand at the head of the list of men who have devoted their lives to the upbuilding of the cause of education in Oregon." Fifty years Gatch toiled and served the cause of education in California, Oregon and Washington, during which time he was at the head of several now great institutions of learning of the Pacific Coast.

Author Geer is not only a good Republican, a good neighbor, a good friend and a good American, but he is plainly a good kinsman. He has much to say of his parents and grandparents, his cousins, uncles and aunts, as well as of those who are or have been nearer to him. None of them can take exceptions to what he has said of them; none of them could ask for more. He is possessed not only of a fine sense of humor, but also of a vast fund of anecdotes. He has drawn liberally upon this fund for the book under review, but has carefully refrained from saying anything in any but the happiest manner that cannot be other than pleasing either to the persons referred to or their relatives and friends.

Governor Geer's Fifty Years in Oregon is reminiscent, personal and pleasant. It is of things, events and people that he has seen and known. As an adjunct to Oregon history it is of much worth. It is well that he wrote it.

On the technical side the book, unfortunately, is injured by the presence of a considerable number of errors, the results of carelessness either on the part of the author or publisher, which, however, are generally of palpable character. It is also injured by the absence of table of contents and index, which, while not affecting the reading, certainly diminishes its value for purposes of reference. THOMAS W. PROSCH.

GUARDIANS OF THE COLUMBIA. By John H. Williams. (Tacoma, Williams, 1912. Pp. 142. $1.50.)

The present volume is the second of a series of books upon Western mountain scenery. It contains a collection of remarkable photographs relating to Mount Hood, Mount Adams and Mount St. Helens and the forests, valleys and rivers that lie between. While not purporting to be a history of the region described, it furnishes a most realistic background to the events that have here transpired. The photographic reproductions are of a high order of excellence and the work as a whole will be a serviceable guide to an understanding of the geographic conditions that have moulded the history of the Columbia-Cascade region.

A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE TERTIARY PALEONTOLOGY OF WESTERN WASHINGTON. By Charles E. Weaver. (Olympia, E. L. Boardman, Public Printer, 1912. Pp. 80+22.)

This is Bulletin Number 15 of the Washington Geological Survey, supervised by Henry Landes, State Geologist. Like the other bulletins, this one is of real and permanent value to those who would understand thoroughly the geologic history of the Pacific Northwest. While the work is technical, the descriptions are clear and easily followed. Professor Weaver has embellished the report with a preliminary areal geographical map, and with fifteen full-page plates illustrating one hundred and thirty-seven specimens, most of which are species new to science. Nearly all of the specific names selected for these discoveries are for geographical features such as Washingtoniana, Olequahensis, Cowlitzensis and Lewisiana. In a few instances personal honors have been conferred in the naming of species for such well known scientists as Professor Landes and Professor Trevor Kincaid.

The work will undoubtedly be received as a distinct and valuable addition to the scientific literature of the Pacific Northwest.

A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF MAPS OF THE SPANISH POSSESSIONS WITHIN THE PRESENT LIMITS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1520-1820. By Woodbury Lowery; edited with notes by Philip Lee Phillips. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912. Pp. 567.)

This beautiful book from the Library of Congress, besides the high value of its contents, is a fine and deserved tribute to the late Woodbury Lowery. That ripe scholar gave his life to work in a relatively neglected field of American history and at death bequeathed valuable manuscripts, books, and maps to the National Library. This book is therefore an acknowledgment of the gift, as well as an effort to make the new riches more available to workers in the field concerned.

The work bears on the Pacific Northwest, as there are a number of items in the descriptive list relating to Spanish maps of the coast north of Mexico and California. It would be wise for every library in the Pacific Northwest to secure a copy of this valuable reference book before it is marked "out of print," as happens all too soon with many such works.

A Journey to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1839. By F. A. Wislizenus. (Saint Louis, Missouri Historical Society, 1912. Pp. 162.)

This is a rare western item first published in German at Saint Louis in 1840. It is here translated by Frederick A. Wislizenus and there is added a portrait and sketch of the author's life.

While the whole journal is interesting to lovers of western history, chapter fourteen is of especial value to readers of this Quarterly. That chapter is headed: "The Columbia River—The Hudson's Bay Company." The author, though writing in 1839, shows familiarity with the palpable diplomacy of the Hudson's Bay Company in trying to hold all of Old Oregon and at the worst to them to hold the Columbia River as the boundary. He speaks of the value of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, which the British would try to hold, concluding his remarks with: "But the United States will not submit to such an infraction of its rights, and again the problem of the Gordian Knot will not be solved without the sword."

He could not then foresee the diplomatic triumph the Americans were to win in the treaty of 1846, seven years after his book was written. The Missouri Historical Society has done a real service to make this rare book available in its present attractive form.

Dedication of the Building of the New Hampshire Historical Society. (Concord, The Historical Society, 1912. Pp. 132.)

This book is sumptuously printed on large paper and is beautifully illustrated, each plate on bevelled paper with tissue cover. The handsome and serviceable building was the gift of Edward Tuck, which fact is made prominent, but with becoming good taste and dignity. The contents of the book give the history of the building and its dedication, as well as sketches of the society and its work. Pioneer workers in the history fields of the Pacific coast rejoice over the good fortune of their distant colleagues on the Atlantic coast. It is perfectly natural also to hope that the Pacific centers may some time publish a book approaching this one from New Hampshire in purpose, scope, and beauty.

HISTORY OF THE STATE OF WASHINGTON. By Edmond S. Meany. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909. Pp. xii., 406.)

The appearance of Professor Meany's book, while the publication of the Quarterly was temporarily suspended, prevented a more timely notice of its publication. It occupies, however, so important a place in the field of history covered by this journal that adequate notice is imperatively demanded.

The text is arranged under five heads, as follows: Part I., The Period of Discovery, includes four short chapters (forty-four pages); Part II., The Period of Exploration (thirty-four pages) carries the narration through the explorations of Mackenzie, Lewis and Clark, Wyeth, and closes with the Wilkes Expedition.

Part III., The Period of Ocupation (forty-seven pages) opens with the settlement at Astoria and the joint occupancy of the Territory by England and the United States and ends with the settlement of the northwesern boundary of the United States by the treaty of 1846. Part. IV., Territorial Days (one hundred and forty-one pages) by far the longest section of the work deals with the history of the Territory proper and leads directly to the last division. Part. V. (forty-eight pages), which in a similar way brings the history of the state to the time of publication. In this latter section two chapters trace the evolution of the state government, and other chapters set forth the economic, political and social achievements. A final and distinctly noteworthy chapter presents the federal activity in the state.

The book throughout bears abundant evidence of the thorough mastery of the subject matter to which Professor Meany has devoted a life time of earnest and conscientious endeavor. The narrative is written with an enthusiasm and spirit born of intimate acquaintance with and love of the work. Additional insight is gained by the fact that the author knew and was to some extent himself one of the actors in the story.

The controverted phases are handled with fairness and good judgment, nad no where else, so far as the reviewer knows, can one turn for light on these controversies with such complete satisfaction.

The book is well made and attractive in appearance. Useful and well executed political and physiographic maps make for the usefulness of the book, as also does an adequate index. About fifty illustrations of historical interest and four appendixes complete the volume.

The work has been so well done in every way that it will long remain the final word in its field. EDWARD M'MAHON.

THE COLUMBIA RIVER, ITS HISTORY, ITS MYTHS, ITS SCENERY, ITS COMMERCE. By William Dennison Lyman. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911. Pp. 409. $1.75.)

The original edition of this volume in The American Waterway Series deals with the great river and the parts of the Northwest about it, viz., Oregon, Washington, Idaho and British Columbia. The present edition is cheaper in price and suitable for use in teachers' reading circles. The author's purpose, "To convey to his reader a lively sense of the romance, the heroism, and the adventure" of the region, together with something of the sentiment and spirit which is called "Western," has been well done. The work is popular in character, avoids all attempts at settling controverted points, and, while aiming at historical accuracy, cites no authorities in the fashion approved by historical scholars. This seems to the reviewer the greatest weakness in the work. Not a few of the general readers, for whom the book is planned, are especially interested and well informed on the history of the Northwest. These will challenge many of the views expressed and regret that the author has offered no definite citations to his authorities. This problem is faced, of course, by every popular series, and no doubt the author and his publishers have decided to meet the popular view and ignore the other.

The first seven chapters, a little more than two-thirds of the book, deal with the history of the region running through the periods of discovery, exploration, fur trading, missionary endeavor, pioneering, mining, farming, etc.

Part II. consists of six chapters describing a journey down the river, which the author hopes will fill the minds of the readers "with a longing to see it face to face." In this he is successful.

Keeping in mind the reader for whom the book is intended, the narrative is written with spirit and insight, and on the whole appears exceedingly well done. EDWARD M'MAHON.

Other Books Received

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Retrospection, Political and Personal. (New York, The Bancroft Company. Pp. 562. $2.00.)

BEARD, CHARLES A. The Supreme Court and the Constitution. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1912. Pp. 127. $1.00 net.)

CHANNING, EDWARD. A History of the United States, Volume III., The American Revolution, 1761-1789. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1912. Pp. 585. $2.50 net.)

NEWS DEPARTMENT

Joint Seminar in Northwestern Problems

Three important departments in the University of Washington have united in the organization of a joint seminar for the study of problems in the Pacific Northwest pertaining to law, political and social development, and history. It is designed primarily for post-graduate work, but a few well prepared seniors are also admitted.

The seminar is conducted by John T. Condon, Dean of the Law School; J. Allen Smith, Dean of the Graduate School and Professor of Political and Social Science; and Edmond S. Meany, Professor of History.

The first session of the academic year of 1912-913 was devoted to a discussion of the many problems, direct and indirect, associated with the utilization of logged-off lands in Washington, by H. K. Benson, Associate Professor of Industrial Chemistry in the University of Washington.

The papers presented at this seminar will, in the nature of things, be reports of progress in extensive studies, but some of them will be complete enough for publication. For many of these this Quarterly will be the vehicle for publication. In this number is given one of those papers: "The Comparative Study of Constitutions for Provisions Not Found in Our Own" by Ben Driftmier. Mr. Driftmier graduated from the Law School in the class of 1912 and has begun active practice in Anacortes, Washington. Laymen, as well as lawyers, will find his paper of interest and value.

Historians Banquetted

During the Summer Session of the University of Washington, the Department of History gave a banquet to a number of visiting colleagues of their craft. The guests were: Professor J. N. Bowman, of the University of California; Professor John L. Conger, of Knox College, Illinois; Professor Frank A. Golder, of the Washington State College; Edward S. Curtis, author of the monumental work on The North American Indian; Charles W. Smith, assistant librarian of the University of Washington; and Mr. G. W. Soliday, of Seattle, who is interested in the collection of historical materials.

Transfer of Professors

In the last issue of the Quarterly mention was made of an exchange for the Summer Session of Professor William Morris of the University of Washington and Professor J. N. Bowman of the University of California, both being specialists in the Mediæval field. Since that time the exchange or transfer has been made permanent, and each is now settled contentedly in his new position.

The North American Indian

Edward S. Curtis of Seattle has just closed a very successful season of his research work among the Indians on the west coast of British Columbia. He reports having obtained a fine collection of unusual photographs and a vast amount of ethnological records of great value. The materials are now being prepared for publication in a forthcoming volume of his well known work.

University Extension

The new Department of University Extension in the University of Washington was inaugurated in Everett, Washington, on the evening of Tuesday, October 8. Director E. A. Start of the new department explained the purposes of the work. The first lecture was by Professor Edmond S. Meany on "Early Life and History of Puget Sound." Interest in the occasion was enhanced by the presence in the audience of a large delegation from the Tulalip Indian School.

NORTHWESTERN HISTORY SYLLABUS

[The aim of this department is to furnish outlines that will aid those who wish to study the subject systematically. It is expected that its greatest use will be as a guide for members of women's clubs, literary societies, and classes in colleges or high schools. It will be a form of university extension without the theses and examinations necessary for the earning of credits toward a degree.]

III. Russian Voyages of Discovery

1. Russia's Approach to the Pacific:
   a. Michael Romanoff's accession to power, 1613.
   b. Cossacks roaming the Siberian steppes.
   c. Hunting the ermine.
   d. Search for fossil ivory.
   e. The Pacific reached, 1700.
2. Peter the Great (1682-1725).
   a. "It is not land we want, but water."
   b. Ambitious plans.
3. Discovery of Bering Strait, 1728.
   a. Vitus Bering.
   b. Long journey to Avacha Bay.
   c. Voyage in the "Gabriel."
4. The Okotsk Sea.
   a. Discovered to be an arm of the Pacific, 1739.
5. The Great Expedition, 1741.
   a. Building the ships "St. Peter" and "St. Paul."
   b. Bering and Cherikoff.
   c. Mount St. Elias discovered and named.
   d. Schumagin Islands.
   e. Landing on Bering Island.
   f. Death of Bering.
   g. Discovery of four new beasts.
   h. Dr. George Wilhelm Steller.
   i. Rescue of the survivors.
   j. Men lost by Cherikoff.
6. Lieutenant Synd, 1766-1767.
   a. Explorations along the "Fox Islands."

7. Captain Krenitzen and Levaschef, 1768-1769.
   a. Adventures and misfortunes.
   b. Fur-trade methods reported.
8. Count Maurice de Benyowsky, 1771.
   a. Escape from Siberian prison.
   b. Explored Bering Strait.
9. Master Gerassim Pribilof.
   a. Discovery of seal rookeries, 1786.
   b. Wonderful harvest of furs.
10. Russian Fur Trade Monopoly.
11. Alexandr Andreievich Baranof.
   a. Founding of Sitka, 1799.
   b. Practicaly a Czar in Russian America.
   c. His rule extended over three decades.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—It is not likely that many volumes on the history of Russia in Alaska will be found available in the libraries of the Northwest. There is a large and growing supply of literature on Alaska since the time of its purchase by the United State. However, a few books may be cited with the hope that they will be found quite generally accessible.

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE. Works of. Vol. XXVII. (Northwest Coast, Vol. I.), pp. 27-31; Vol. XXXIII. (Alaska). These books are found in many western libraries. The volume devoted to Alaska will be found of great help on the field here outlined.

BENYOWSKY, MAURITIUS AUGUSTUS, COUNT DE. Memoirs of. Published in London in 1790. This work is relatively rare, but it is one of the sources. The Count escaped from exile in Siberia and had remarkable experiences in the North Pacific, being the first man to behold land on both sides while sailing through Bering Strait.

FUR SEAL ARBITRATION. Published in sixteen volumes by the United States Government in 1895. It contains the full proceedings of the arbitration in Paris between the United States and Great Britain under the treaty of February 29, 1892, over the jurisdictional rights of the United States in Bering Sea. The documents reproduced make these books a storehouse of historical sources. The books ought to be in all the larger libraries.

LAURIDSON, PETER. Vitus Bering. Translated by Professor Julius E. Olson of the University of Wisconsin. This inexpensive book

gives a most graphic account of Bering's work which laid the foundation for Russian claims in America.

LISIANSKY, UREY. Voyage Around the World in 1803 to 1806. This is another interesting source book. It was published in London in 1814 and though long "out of print" is now available in a number of libraries in this state. His voyage was made by order of Alexander I., Emperor of Russia, and his journal is full of valuable information.

SCHAFER, JOSEPH. History of the Pacific Northwest, pp. 16, 20, 22, 25. Though brief references, these will be especially helpful because the book is accessible everywhere throughout the Northwest.

REPRINT DEPARTMENT

George Wilkes: History of Oregon, Geographical and Political. (New York, Colyer, 1845.)

[The reprint of this rare work was begun in the first number of the Washington Historical Quarterly and has been continued in portions of varying lengths. For the sake of librarians and others who have kept the files, the work is here continued.—*Editor.*]

The committee applied to a Frenchman, named Pappa, who had a log house and a little spot of ground in cultivation at the crossing, and endeavored to hire his platform. But the old fellow insisting on the most unreasonable terms, no arrangement could be made with him, so the convention between Pappa and the plenipotentiaries of our republic, was broken abruptly off, and we were obliged to commence construction of a raft upon our own account. This proceeding brought the old curmudgeon to his senses, but not being able to regain the commtitee, he threw himself open to the impatience of a section of our party, who availed themselves of his reduced offers, and commenced crossing before the main body. This gave great dissatisfaction to the rest of the company, and inflamed the elements of discord anew in the camp. On the 28th, Pappa's platform while crossing with an inordinate load, suddenly sunk, and several women and children came very near being drowned; but some dozen or two of sturdy arms, soon brought them to the shore, and the mishap was confined to the loss of some property alone. Pappa's platform was then suffered to float down the stream, and our own being now finished, we all resolved to cross over afterwards upon a common footing. On the following morning, 29th, the general crossing commenced, but in consequence of the great number of our cattle, it was not finished until the 31st. The want of organization was the great object which retarded our movements. While we were lingering on the banks of this river, a number of wagons from the Platte country, came in to join the expedition. On the 30th, two Catholic missionaries arrived at the ford. They were pilgrims through the wilderness on a mission of faith to the Flathead Indians. We treated them with every observance of respect, and cheerfully lent them the assistance of our raft.

The Kansas river is at this point about a quarter of a mile wide, with

sandy banks and bottom, and its waters are muddy like those of the Missouri. The crossing, as I said before, was completed on the 31st, and the whole party were encamped safely on the other side, at Black Warrior Creek.

Having now tested to our heart's content the evils of too large an exercise of the "largest liberty," the desire became universal for the election of an absolute commander of arrangements. Accordingly, a general meeting was held, and the organization was consummated by the election of Peter H. Burnett, as commander in chief, and Mr. Nesmith as orderly sergeant.

This election took place on the 1st June, and on the 2d we left our quarters for an onward movement. Right glad were we to get away, for our situation had been very uncomfortable during the whole time from the 26th, and our stock kept constantly sticking in the mud on the banks of this miserable creek. On the 3d. we travelled a distance of fifteen miles, (more than all accomplished during the previous eleven days,) and on the following day seventeen miles more through a section of the most beautiful prairie lands that had as yet ever met my eye. This day's journey took us across a large creek with high banks, called "Big Sandy," but in consequence of the thorough organization which had already been effected by our commander, and his prompt measures, it offered but little obstacle to our progress. We encamped at close of day, some miles beyond its western bank. While stationing our wagons in their quadrangular order, and pitching our tents, we received a visit from some Kanzas chiefs, much to the terror of the women and children, who gazed with any feelings but those of admiration upon the grim visages of the warriors, made more grim by the bars of black and red paint drawn across them; or who looked with any thing but a serene sensation upon the threatening tomahawks and scalping knives which grinned beneath their girdles. These lords of the soil, however, were by no means disposed to be savage with us, and after a temporary stay, during which they received some tobacco and a few loads of powder and shot, they retired in an opposite direction from whence they came. On the fifth, we crossed the east fork of the Blue, a large creek which is a tributary to the Kanzas, accomplishing this day over twenty miles. On the afternoon of the sixth, we arrived at the west fork of the Blue, fifteen miles west of the branch we passed the day before. We found it to be a small river about fifty yards wide, and contrary to our expectations, it was fordable, a rain during the previous night having excited our apprehensions that we should find it swelled into a torrent. First driving in our cattle, we next propped up our wagon beds with large blocks of wood, and thus conveyed them over safe and sound. The prairie on the

other side was level and dry, and we encamped quite content with the day's performance.

Alas, our satisfaction was bound to be of short endurance; for about ten o'clock at night, the sky was covered with a darkness so dense as to fairly ache the sight that peered upward in the vain attempt to pierce it. A close heaviness oppressed the air that portended the coming of a thunder storm. A signal was given to us by the guards, and every one was up in a moment to make all secure about his tent or wagon as the case might be; but while yet bustling about, the inky pall was rent in twain, and a tremendous burst exploded over our very heads, that absolutely struck some of us to the ground. A sullen moan followed, increasing gradually into a wild shriek of the elements, as if every demon of the night was lending to the moment his croak or horror. At length the howling tempest struck us, and before we had fairly recovered from our first stupefication, several tents were blown down, and two or three which had been carelessly staked were lifted in the air, and passed off on the breath of the hurricane like puffs of down. I stood near the scene of one of these mishaps, and could not restrain from a burst of laughter when, as the canvass departed, a husband and wife jumped up in their scanty night clothes, and on their hands and knees chased the fugitive sheets which curled over and over provokingly before them. My merriment startled the female pursuer, who on discovering me and my roaring companions made a rapid retreat and crept under the mattress.

These were not the worst of the visitations of the storm, for the wind was accompanied by a tremendous deluge of rain that flooded the whole surface of the prairie, and the entire platform of our encampment; and it is not too much to say that there was scarcely a dry inch of skin in it. Our condition during the night was, consequently, very uncomfortable, and it was not until a pretty advanced hour in the morning, that we had recovered from our condition. This learnt us a new lesson of precaution, which was to dig a trench around the tents on pitching them, so as to lead the water off.

On this days (6th,) we were encountered on our march by a party of Osage and Kanzas, or Caw Indians, in all the horrid accoutrements of war. They numbered about ninety in all, and had evidently studied every means of making themselves disgusting and terrible. They all rode ponies, and had their heads closely shaven, with the exception of the stiff lock in the centre, which their politeness to their foes reserves for the scalping knife. The advantages of this international regulation of courtesy is obvious, for when a warrior has conquered a foe, instead of being obliged to rip off his scalp in a tedious operation with his teeth, he relieves him of it gracefully and

easily by the assistance of his top knot. He is thus allowed to pay attention to a greater number of foes, and the natural increase which thus takes place in deeds of arms, encourages the martial spirit of both nations. The exploit of this party had not been highly creditable to their character, for they had waged destruction only on one brave Pawnee, whom they had surprised and run down like a wild beast, but who, however, had wounded two of his pursuers badly before he was overcome. The miserable devils had his scalp with them, and they had also secured portions of his cheeks and nose, which were distributed among the chiefs. They had ripped the former from the head of their victim with considerable skill, the ears being attached to it, and upon inspection, I perceived they still contained their unfortunate owner's wampum ornaments.

The Kanzas and Osages are the most miserable and filthy Indians we saw east of the Rocky mountains, and they annoyed us excessively whenever we fell in with them, through their mendicant propensities. We gave to this party a calf and some bread, as they importuned us with great earnestness, stating, to strengthen their application, that they had not tasted food for three days. One of the chiefs with an ear of the slaughtered Pawnee swinging around his neck, approached Green, a strapping Missourian, who stood leaning on his rifle, and gazing at the crew with a stern expression of mingled scorn and abhorrence. The savage importuned him by a sign for some powder and ball.

"Some powder and ball you want, eh?" said Green, slowly rising from his slightly incumbent position. "Some powder and ball, eh? Well, I can spare you jist one load out o' here!" saying which he significantly touched the muzzle of his gun with his finger, and then slowly raised it to his sight. The savage hesitated for a moment, uncertain of the white man's purpose, but perceiving that the weapon gradually travelled to a level, he stepped back and opened his hands, as if to explain the friendliness of his purpose.

But the hooshier's blood was up, and advancing as the Caw retired, he raised the but of his rifle in a threatening manner, exclaiming in an imperative tone: "Out o' my sight, you d—d nigger, or by—, I'll spile your scalpin' for ever." The Indian slouched sullenly away, and Green, when tired of chasing him with his eye, turned off in another direction growling: "I'd like to spend a few private moments with that fellow in the open prairie."

In addition to their other bad qualities, these Indians have the reputation of being the most arrant theives in the world. They satisfied us as to their rascally propensities on taking their departure, by the theft of a couple of horses, which disappeared from the time of their leaving us. One

of the animals was the property of the indignant Missourian.

On the 7th, we removed our camp to the distance of half a mile further on, and resolved to pause the whole day in order to dry our goods and repair the injuries done by the previous storm. The night, however, ended most of our labor, for we were visited by another severe shower, which again flooded the whole camp. On the following morning we started off in the rain, which was falling in torrents, with the determination of finding ground high enough to prevent our camp from being continually swamped. After a weary and miserable peregrination of five miles, we came to a grove of young elms on a slightly elevated knoll, which secured us just the advantages we sought. The rain still kept coming down, but after our tents were pitched, we were able to defy it.

Several of us had caught severe colds by the drenching we had received, and among the rest, Mr. Burnet was badly attacked with so serious an indisposition, that he was forced to resign the command.

On the 9th the clouds dispersed, the sun broke through them with its enlivening rays, and we started off at an early hour to reach a grove about five miles distant, where we would have superior facilities in wood and water, for drying our clothes and recruiting ourselves. We reached it about twelve o'clock, and making a halt, in less than half an hour, forty or fifty huge fires were roaring and crackling in the plain. After we had thoroughly dried our garments and recovered our things from their previous confusion, we turned our attention to supplying the vacancy in the office of commander. A council was held which resulted in a separation of the two divisions, one under the command of Captain Jesse Applegate, and the other, after adopting a new organization, elected William Martin commander. The latter division was the largest of the two, having in it seventy-two wagons and one hundred and seventy-five men.

On the 10th, we started out under this new arrangement with fine weather, and a beautifully undulating landscape beckoned us on into its fertile depths. I rode on amongst the advanced guard on the look out for buffola, and yielding to the spirit of gaiety and spirit in my horse, I suffered him to carry me far beyond the rest. Halting at length to turn back to my companions, I paused to take a momentary scrutiny of the horizon, when I suddenly perceived in the extreme south west, two or three little dots just waving on its edge. "Buffalo, Buffalo!" shouted I, waving my hand to those behind, and dashing off with a dozen clattering fast behind me in the direction of the objects. We were not long left in doubt as to the nature of the new comers, for we were approaching each other, and in a few minutes were shaking hands with the mounted outposts of a trading caravan from Fort Larimie, on its way to Independence with furs and peltries.

When the wagons came up, they were cheered by our people, and welcomed with the same enthusiasm that hails a sail upon the ocean after a joyless solitude of months. It being noon, and a brook running hard by, we insisted on a pause, and we accordingly spent a couple of happy hours together, after which we separated, and both moved on again. Surely there is something good in human nature! Such scenes as this go very far to destroy the injustice of the assertion, that man's heart is continually evil, and that he naturaly inclines to it as the sparks fly upward. The converse is the rule.

Upon our start, I resumed my position as a scout, and falling in with Green, the sturdy Missourian, we kept company together. As we led the advance with Capt. Gant, our attention was attracted simultaneously by a flock of large birds hovering over some object on the plain, and occasionally stooping down towards it. For the purpose of ascertaining the cause of their operations, we rode toward them, and, on approaching the scene, found them to be feasting upon the dead body of a man. Upon a close inspection, we discovered it to be the body of an Indian, whose dissevered head, badly scalped, lay within a few feet of his body. It was evidently the victim of the war party of the Kanzas and Osages whom we had encountered a few days before.

"I'd give another horse to have a turn with one of the niggers who helped in this!" said Green, as we turned away.

The road was smooth all the way to-day; nothing within eye-shot, but a gently undulating landscape, relieved occasionally by little colonies of saplings, and covered with a generous crop of grass, in which our cattle found an elysium of provender. We had another fall of rain on the evening of the 11th, but it was slight, and so far from doing damage, it scarcely occasioned inconvenience.

On the 12th, as we were jogging along at a comfortable pace, the whole camp was suddenly thrown into a fever of excitement by shouts of: "Buffalo! Buffalo!" At the welcome and long wished for cry, several of us who were mounted, galloped ahead to take a share in the sport. On reaching the advance, our erroneous impressions were corrected by the information that the sport was over, and that Capt. Gant and others had just killed a large buffalo, and were waiting until the caravan arrived at the scene of the exploit, to take charge of the carcase. It turned out to be a veteran bull who had been discovered by the hunters grazing by himself him, discharging their rifles to stop his career, and when they had sufficiently about two miles distant on the lead. The horsemen immediately run upon shortened their distance, drew on him their large horse pistols. This proved effectual, and the old soldier bit the dust a victim to seven balls. He ap-

peared worn with grief at his desolate condition, and his flesh, toughened with age, proved hardly an enviable refreshment. The old fellow had probably been left there in the spring when sick, by the other buffaloes. These animals come down to Blue river in great numbers to spend the winter among the rushes, which are abundant in the bottoms near the stream, but leave in the spring.

On the 14th, we entered and passed over a broad district of prairie land, equal for farming purposes to any soil in the world; but it was all solitary wild prairie, and scarcely relieved by the slightest rise or fall.

For the last three or four days, we had every now and then seen an antelope, but in consequence of the extreme shyness of the animals none of us had been able to get a shot at one. To-day, however, Jim Wayne, who to his character of humorist and musician, added the qualities of a capital huntsman and woodsman, brought in a young does slung across the saddle of his horse, singing—

"Merrily the wild stag bounds!"

with his gun crossed in the hollow of his arm, and his hat cocked more gaily than ever.

"Hollo, Jim!" shouted McFarley, who had just came up, "so you've had some luck, I see!"

"Yes, and I have discovered a new method of making cheap bread."

"Say it, my hearty!"

"By finding *doe* to my hand in the prairie."

"Faith an' you'll find it well *kneaded*, too, (needed,) or my stomach's no judge," said the politician with a moistening mouth.

"That last execrable pun entitles you to one of her rump stakes, and I'll see that it is bestowed upon you if it should be the last official act of my life," replied the humorist with dignity as he moved on.

On the following day, 16th, I had agreed with Jim that he and I should take a skirr together, to see if we could not fall upon another animal of the same species; but an incident occurred in the course of the morning that diverted our intentions. A shout from the rear turned our attention in that direction, and splitting away at top speed, we saw a splendid buck antelope coming towards us, followed by some of our dogs in full chase. He had been hiding in a little thicket on our trail, and just as the last wagon passed, some loitering hound had caught the scent and started him up. Instead of striking away from us across the prairie, the frightened animal came direct along the line, and ran down its whole length, extending over two miles, at a distance of not more than two hundred yards. It was a most beautiful, and at the same time a most exciting sight. Away he flew like the wind, at every moment the pack scouring in

his rear, receiving new accessions as the chase advanced, and at the distance of every few hundred yards a rifle would send its ineffectual messenger to arrest his course. At length, however, a large hound from one of the foremost wagons seeing the squad approaching, ran down to meet them. The affrighted buck, terrified out of his wits, though plainly headed off, did not sheer an inch from his course, and the dog meeting him with a spring, seized him by the throat and tumbled him to the ground. The animal contrived to raise and shake him off before the rest of the pack arrived, but a rifle ball caught him in the shoulder, and he yielded to his fate by dropping first on his knees and then rolling over on his side upon the plain.

The antelope is a most beautiful animal, and perhaps there is no other creature in creation capable of an equal degree of speed. He is tall, graceful, and stately; shaped something like a deer, clothed in a hide of the same color; and like deer, the bucks have branching horns, though blacker and smaller in their size.

I had a conversation over the body of the animal, with an old backwoodsman, who told me in instancing the animal's fleetness, that he had once a very superior grey hound, which was brought into contest with one of the species in the following manner. The antelope and dog were running at right angles towards each other, the former not discovering the hound until they were within twenty feet of each other. The struggle then commenced, but the antelope shot away from the dog with the most astonishing swiftness. The race lasted for a quarter of a mile, each doing his best, but the antelope had then outran the dog so far, that the latter actually stood still and gazed after him in utter astonishment. Yet this hound had often run down deer and wolves with ease. The antelope is a very wary animal, and consequently extremely difficult to approach. His curiosity is, however, very great; and the hunter adapting himself to the habits of the animal, conceals himself behind a hillock of sand, or some other object, and putting his hat, cap, or handkerchief upon the end of his ram rod, waves it gently to and fro to attract his attention. As soon as the antelope sees it, he slowly approaches, occasionally pausing with a snort; then gradually advancing again, snifts the air with the utmost suspicion, and though no breath is heard above the humming of a mosquito, will sometimes turn and dash off several yards, to return in like manner again. At length, however, his fate coaxes him within reach of the trusty rifle—a crack follows, and down he goes. He is not very tenacious of life, and a slight wound will bring him to an almost immediate surrender. Notwithstanding his exceeding fleetness, he can be run down when very fat, on horseback, if the chase is continued for twenty miles. My communicant, who had spent several

years in the region of the Rocky Mountains, informed me that they were frequently dun down by wolves, and that he had often snatched the jaded prey from these carnivorous banditti at the conclusion of a long chase, and appropriated it to himself. I found the flesh of the antelope very delicious eating. It is very juicy, and is generally prized above venison.

CHAPTER IV.

Visit of Pawnees—Arrival at the Platte—Its Valley—Its Stream—Buffalo Paths—Climate—Dodging a Sleeper—Buffalo Hunts—Buffalo Hunting—Directions How to Follow It—Buffalo Meat.

Our course from the 13th to the 17th lay up the Republican fork of the Blue, and at the close of the latter day we had accomplished two hundred and fifty miles from the rendezvous, giving an average of ten miles a day from the start; stoppages and all included. The Kanzas country, which is the section through which we had passed, is nineteen-twentieths very fertile prairie, but scantily furnished with timber, except upon the streams. This consists generally of elm, low bur oak, cotton wood, small swamp ash, and a few willows, and these, as I said before, only grow (with a few solitary exceptions) on the margin of the streams. In consequence of this defect, there are but few portions of it suitable for farming purposes. The whole country is very scarce in game, and we saw none (barring the veteran buffalo) but a few deer and antelope.

The only description of smaller game we saw was a small kind of snipe, and a very few small birds of other descriptions. The carcass of a half-starved wild cat, killed by one of the company, attested the paucity of her range, among this description of prey. The streams also were very niggard in their yield of fish. The road from Independence to this point (the crossing point to the line of the Platte) is through prairie almost altogether, interrupted only by occasional swells, which are far from being an obstacle to travel. The only difficulties are experienced at the fords upon the streams, which are miry, abrupt, and as I have shown, sometimes difficult to cross. You will, nevertheless, not be driven more than once to a raft.

In the afternoon we encamped for the last time upon the Blue river, and this circumstance in connection with the rapid progress of the last three days, put us in a most excellent humor with ourselves. While we were employed in the usual duties and amusements of such a pause, we received the visit of a large party of Pawnees, who approached us from the south, in which direction they had been on a hunt. They had with them several packs of buffalo meat; the reward of their expedition. They cut this when

they butcher it, into long, thin, and wide slices, with the grain of the meat, and then cure it by drying it in the sun. After it is thus dried, they have a mode of pressing it between two pieces of wood, which gives it a very smooth and regular appearance. They gave us of it very liberally, and asked for nothing in return. These Indians are a much superior race to the Kanzas and Osages; they wear their hair like the whites; their stature is athletic, and their mien noble. While with us, they straggled freely through the camp, and amused themselves very much by imitating our mode of driving the teams. We informed them, before they left, of the massacre of their brother by the Osages and Caws, upon which they set up a howl of wo, and swore revenge with the most violent gesticulations. They left us as they met us, in the most friendly manner, and we did not suffer from their depredations as we had from those of their enemies.

"Hurrah for the Platte! tira la! tira la!" cried Jim Wayne from his mouth, and blew Jim Wayne on his bugle, as he galloped up and down the line, on the morning of the 18th. "Hurrah for the Platte! Good morning, Mrs. Robbins!—mornin', McFarley—come, stir about, bustle, bustle, we must reach the Platte today! tira la! tira la!" and away went the mad devil repeating the summons in every quarter. All was stir and bustle; the Platte had long been sighed for as the direct line of route that was to lead us straight to the passage of the mountains, and on its banks we had been assured of finding a constant and abundant supply of game. Being twenty miles or more away, it was necessary we should bestir ourselves at an early hour, to reach it before night-fall. We accordingly got an early breakfast, and soon the long line of the caravan unwound itself over the undulating fields, to span the main dividing ridge between this tributary of the Kanzas and the Great Platte. We travelled all day without any interruption, over the finest road imaginable, and just as the sun was going down behind the bleak sand-hills on its northern bank, we caught our first view of the wide and beautiful valley of the American Nile. Being yet two miles distant from its bank, we halted in the fertile bottom land, after having accomplished a distance of twenty-five miles, congratulating ourselves with the prospect of plain sailing, and plenty of fresh provender, until we struck the mountains. This was all we had to console us for a cold supper, in consequence of the complete absence of fuel where we were. In the morning (19th) we had to start without breakfast, in consequence of this want, but after travelling a few miles, we found plenty of dry willows to serve our purpose, and then made a most voracious meal. We struck the Great Platte near the head of Grand Island.

This was a beautiful island, lying in the center of the stream (very wide at this place), seventy-five miles in length, and covered with the finest

timber, while not a solitary tree grew on the south side of the river, where we were.

Having now brought the reader to the grand avenue, which leads the emigrant direct to his future destination, I will not trespass upon his patience by a description of every day's journeys and proceedings, but shall content myself with giving him a general view of the route, its characteristics, facilities and extent; thus advancing with greater rapidity to the main subject of inquiry—Oregon itself; and thus avoiding the unnecessary repetitions of diurnal trips, nine-tenths of which would be in their description mere counterparts of those that went before.

The Great Platte is one of the most remarkable rivers in the world, and when considered with a view to the facility its level banks afford for intercommunication with our Pacific territories, its value is immense. It takes its rise in Wind River Mountain (in latitude 42½), a little north of, and near the Great Southern Pass, and runs due east, with scarcely a perceptible deviation of course to the traveller along its banks, for a distance of 600 miles, to its junction with its southern branch, and from that point 300 miles more, when it disembogues into the Missouri, in latitude about 41°, 30′. Like the Nile, it runs hundreds of miles through a sterile wilderness, and like the Nile it unrolls its strip of green across the vastness of the desert, and is the father of all the vegetation near it. In the way of navigation, it is useless; its waters being too shallow in great portions of it even to float a canoe, and in the winter it is bound in ice. Its banks are low and sandy, its waters muddy like the Missouri, and its current very rapid. In consequence of its shallowness it is very easy to ford, except when rains have swollen the stream, and then its additional force makes it in places extremely dangerous. Though it varies greatly as to width, its average breadth is about two miles, and its center is frequently diversified with most beautiful islands, large and small, covered with the finest trees whose rich and clustering foliage contrast splendidly with the sand-hills and wide prairie plains on either side. On each side of the river and at the distance of about three miles from either bank, run a continuous line of sand-hills. From the foot of these, to the water's edge, is spread a sheet of lively verdure, and on the other side, the boundless level is only lost in the line of the horizon.

The banks of the Platte are generally devoid of trees, and we suffered a great scarcity of wood previous to reaching Fort Larimie in consequence; but we frequently found bunches of willows, and more than once, the remains of Indian wigwams of the same material, eked out a substitute for cooking purposes. Our general expedient was to pick up pieces of drift wood from the river, during the day. These we could get at the

expense of wading to our knees, and they supplied all our necessities with a little care. But little fuel is required if proper means are used in consuming it; and to proceed correctly, with a view to saving, a narrow ditch should first be dug in the earth about eight inches wide, a foot deep, and about a yard long; this arrangement confines the heat, and prevents the wind from scattering and wasting the fire.

The valley of the Great Platte is from fifteen to twenty miles wide, beyond which line, on either side, the prairies lose a portion of their fertility, and gradually extend towards the west in arid and cheerless wastes. The strip along the banks, of which I spoke before, is filled with the most luxuriant herbage, the sand-hills which bar it from the plain beyond, are about three miles through, and the outer prairie interminable. Within these sand hills you will find numerous valleys covered with a profuse bottom vegetation, and leading by easy tracks from plain to plain. Upon the outer plain, and sometimes in the sand hills, you will find the buffaloes and numbers of white wolves, and upon the inner one, range the antelope and deer. When the season is wet, the buffalo find plenty of water in the ponds or puddles of the outer plain, and, consequently, are not forced to the inner one, or to the river on its edge, for water. As the summer advances, and the ponds dry up, these animals gradually approach the stream, and are found in numbers in the inner section. As you go along the edge of the river, you are struck with the numerous beaten paths diverging in the direction of the sand hills, and leading across the surface of the farther plain. A stranger is at a loss, at first, to account for such signs of population in a wilderness, but, upon inquiry, they are found to be the tracks made by the buffalo, in their journey to the banks of the stream for water. These paths are cut to the depth of six or eight inches in the soil, and indicate by their narrowness, the habit of the animals in these excursions to proceed in narrow file. In traveling up the Platte, we crossed one of these paths at almost every thirty yards, and they were about the only annoyance we met with upon the surface of the plain. They are serviceable in a high degree in one view, for they afford a perfect security against your getting lost, your simple resource when having strayed far away on a hunt, being merely to strike a buffalo track, and you are sure to be in a road leading directly to the river, by the nearest route.

The whole road along the line of this stream is doubtless the best in the world, considering its length. The greatest inconvenience attendant on its travel that I know of is the unconquerable propensity it occasions in one to sleep in the day time. The air is so bland, the road so smooth, and the motion of the vehicle so regular, that I have known many a teamster to go to sleep while his team stood winking idly in the road without budging

a step. The usual custom with us when such a case as this would occur was for each wagon in turn to drive cautiously around the sluggard, and leave him to have his nap out in the middle of the road. It would sometimes happen the sleeper would not awake for two or three hours, and when he arrived that time behind in camp he would either swing around in a towering passion, or slink out of reach of our merciless tauntings, heartily ashamed.

On the 22d of June we saw the first band of buffalo on the plain near the river. There were about fifty altogether—and they were on their road through the sand hills to the river to drink. We immediately mounted and gave chase, and being fortunately to the leeward, they did not scent of us until we were well down upon them; then by pushing our horses to their utmost speed, we managed to get near enough for a shot, and a general discharge succeeded in bringing down two of the finest of the lot.

As the buffalo is sometimes a very important item in the emigrant's calculations for food, it will not be improper for me here to devote a few remarks upon the manner of obtaining them.

There is perhaps no chase so exciting to a sportsman as a buffalo hunt, and the reader can readily imagine the tremendous addition its interest receives when the stomach has been in rebellion for hours, perhaps for days, from the insidious excitements of the fresh prairie air. The mode of hunting these noble animals is very simple. They are most generally found upon the outer range, grazing near the head of some hollow, leading up towards the sand hills. The sight of the buffalo is very dull, but their scent, by its superior acuteness, compensates for this defect. You must, therefore, always manage, if possible, to get to the leeward of them, or you are almost certain to see the whole herd scamper off before you arrive in pulling distance. As an instance of this, I one day saw a band of about a hundred buffaloes at two miles distance on the opposite side of the river running up its line on a parallel with our train. They did not see us, but the wind being from our side, they caught the scent when about opposite our center, upon which they turned off instantly at a right angle and scoured away like mad. Approach them to the leeward, however, and you are almost certain to get within easy shooting distance. When you have discovered a herd close up to the line of the hills, you should station your horses in some hollow near at hand (but out of sight), and then creep cautiously up to your position, pick out your animals, and fire, one at a time, in slow succession. If you give them a volley, they directly scamper off, and a rapid succession of shots is followed by the same result; but if you load and fire slowly, you may kill several before the whole herd take alarm. I have seen three or four reel down, or bound into the air and fall, without exciting

any attention from their indifferent companions. When you have fired as often as you can, with effect, from the position you have taken, and the animals have moved beyond your reach, you should hasten to your horses, mount with all speed, and approach as near as possible without showing yourselves; but when you do, put your horses up to the top of their speed and away after the game as fast as you can go. You may dash at a band of buffaloes not more than a hundred yards off, and though you my think you are about to plunge into the very midst of them in a moment, you will find, if your horse is not well down to his work, that they will slip away like legerdemain. Though they appear to run awkwardly, they contrive to "let the links out" in pretty quick succession, and if you suffer them to get any kind of a start, you must expect to have a hard run to overtake them. The better plan, therefore, is to put your horse to the top of his speed at once, and thus by bringing the matter to a climax, you obviate the inconvenience of being drawn to a distance from the camps, and of making your jaded steed carry a wearisome load several miles back.

If you hit a bull from cover and he sees no enemy, he will at once lie down, but if you press him on the open plain, when injured, he will resent the wrong, turn short round, bow his neck and waving his tail to and fro over his back, face you for a fight. At this crisis of affairs, it is well to show him some respect, and keep at a convenient distance. If you will content yourself with fifty yards he will stand and receive your fire all day. As soon as you bring him once at bay you are sure of him, for you may fire as often as you please, and the only indication he gives before going down, of having received a wound, is by a furious kicking at the assaults of his deadly visitant. You must not attempt to kill him by shooting at his head, for you will only spatter your ineffectual lead upon his frontal bone, but shoot him behind the shoulder at the bulge of the ribs, or just below the backbone in the same latitude, and you will pass your ball directly through the thick part of the lungs. This is the most deadly of all shots, for the flow of blood stifles his respiration and suffocates him at once. When excited these animals are very hard to kill, and unless when wounded in this fatal spot, I have seen them so tenacious of existence as to live for hours, even with two or three bullets through their hearts.

The animal, though it generaly flies pursuit, is capable of the most romantic deeds of daring. An instance of this kind occurred on the 27th of June. We had stopped our wagons at noon within half a mile of the river, and while enjoying the comforts of our mid-day meal, we discovered seven large buffalo bulls slowly moving up the opposite shore of the river. When they got directly opposite our encampment, they turned and plunged suddenly into the stream and swam directly towards us as straight as they could come, in the face of wagons, teams, cattle, horses, men and all.

Every man prepared his gun, and those on the extreme ends of the line, stretched down to the bank of the river, thus forming a complete semicircle of death for their reception. Notwithstanding we were thus prepared for their approach, we all felt certain they would turn tail and recross the river; but to our complete astonishment, on they came, regardless of our grim and threatening array. They were received with tremendous bombardment, and down went every bellowing vagabond to the ground. Several of them rose to their feet, but the storm of death bore them back again upon the sod and not a single one escaped to profit by this lesson of imprudence.

There is perhaps no flesh more delicious to a traveller's appetite than buffalo meat, particularly that cut from a fat young buffalo cow; and it has the peculiar advantage of allowing you to eat as much as you please without either surfeit or oppression. I shall never forget the exquisite meal I made on the evening of the first of June. I had been out hunting all day, was very weary, and as hungry as a whole wilderness of tigers. Out of compassion for my complete fatigue, Mrs. Burnett cooked six large slices from a fat young buffalo for my supper. My extravagant hunger induced me to believe when I first saw the formidable array served up, that I could readily dispose of three of them. I *did* eat three of them, but I found they were but the prologue to the fourth, the fourth to the fifth, and that to the sixth, and I verily believe that had the line stretched out to the crack of doom, I should have staked my fate upon another and another collop of the prairie king. This story hardly does me credit, but the worst is yet to come, for two hours afterward, I shared the supper of Dumberton, and on passing Captain Gant's tent on my way *home*, I accepted an invitation from him to a bit of broiled tongue; yet even after this, I went to bed with an unsatisfied appetite. I am no cormorant, though I must admit I acted very much like one on this occasion. My only consolation and excuse, however, is that I was not a single instance of voracity in my attacks upon broiled buffalo meat.

CHAPTER V.

Progress of Travel—Grand Complimentary Ball to the Rocky Mountains —Route Through the Mountains—Its Points—Its General Character—Passage Through the Pass—Arrival in Oregon.

On the 29th of June we crossed the south fork of the Platte. On the 1st of July we crossed the north fork at a distance of thirty-one miles from the passage the day but one before, and then proceeded along its northern bank for a period of nine days, passing in succession the points on the route known as "Cedar Grove," "the Solitary Tower," "the Chimney',"

and "Scott's Bluffs," until we arrived at Fort Larimie on the 9th; thus averaging, from the itme of our crossing the south fork on the morning of the 29th of June, about sixteen miles a day. During this period, and this space of march, the weather was uninterruptedly fine, the thermometer ranging from 74° to 83°, and the face of the road suffering no sensible variation. We paused for a day at Fort Larimie, and resumed our march on the morning of the 11th. From this point thereout, we suffered no further scarcity of timber, but we now began to encounter a few more difficulties from the surface of the road. This we found to be interrupted by bolder undulations, and after we had travelled eight miles further westward, we came to the *debris*, as it may be called, of the Black Hills, whose occasional abrupt inclinations now and then caused our teams a little extra straining, but did not require us to resort to double ones. This lasted but for a short distance, however, and we were soon on a level route again. On the 16th we struck the Sweetwater, a beautiful little tributary of the Platte, and following its course for one hundred miles, at last came in view, on the afternoon of the 30th, of the eternal snows of the Rocky Mountains. We still had an open route before us, and a portion of the day remained to avail ourselves of it if we pleased; but this event was worthy of the commemoration of an encampment, and we accordingly wound up the line two hours earlier than usual. The hunters of our party had been fortunate this day in obtaining some fine antelope and two fat young buffaloes, and we set out for a regular feast. When the meal was over, and when the prospective perils which lay in the entrails of those grim giants had been canvassed again and again, we broke from all grave considerations to consecrate the evening to merriment. The night was beautiful, scarcely a breath stirred the air, and the bright stars in the blue vault above looked brighter than ever. The camp fires streaming upwards from the prairie plains flooded the tents with their mellow light, and made the tops of the quadrangular barricade of wagons looks like a fortification of molten gold. Jim Wayne's fiddle was at once in request, and set after set went in upon the sward to foot a measure to its notes. McFarley and the representative of Big Pigeon forgot in the moment all the bickerings of their ambition, and formed two of a party (amongst whom was my old friend, Green the Missourian), who listened to the Indian traditions of Captain Gant, and then told their own wonderful stories in return. The revelry was kept up till a late hour, and the result was that the whole party went to bed worn out with pleasure and fatigue. From this point we pursued a directly westernly course, crossing in our route two creeks called "Big Sandy" and "Little Sandy," and three or four others, until we struck Green river, a tribuatory of the Colorado, which empties its waters into the Pacific, in the Mexican

bay of San Francisco. We followed Green river down its course through the mountains for twenty miles, where we struck a branch of it called Black's fork. From thence we turned off in a westerly direction for thirty miles, to Fort Bridger. Still west we proceeded for twenty more, to a branch of the Great Bear river, called Big Muddy, and down this branch for thirty-seven miles of fine travel, in a north westerly direction to Great Bear river itself. We now took up the course of Great Bear river, and following it in a north westerly direction for fifty-seven miles, passed a range of hills which run down nearly to its bank; and continuing our course for thirty-eight miles more, arrived at the Great Soda Springs. From the Great Soda Springs, which we left on the 27th August, we took the course of a valley leading to the great dividing ridge between us and Oregon, and after passing up it to the distance of about forty-five or fifty miles, came upon the wide depression of the mountains that was to lead us into the promised land. This remarkable pass is so gentle in its slope, as to afford no obstacle for the heaviest loaded wagons; and, without any difficulty at all, our most cumbrous teams passed through it into the valley of the Satpin, the southern branch of the Columbia. This natural avenue, though surrounded, nay, almost overhung, in parts, with immense crags of frowning desolation, was covered, generally, with the softest and most delightful verdure that had for a long time met our eyes. A beautiful little brook meandered through it; flowers and trees were flourishing along it in profusion, and the sweet scent and soft air that floated in our faces off its fields half persuaded us that we were suffering the delusion of some fairy dream. Impatient of delay, some dozen or two of us on horseback plunged into the inviting scene, and led the way at a gallop to a view of the region beyond.

(To be continued.)

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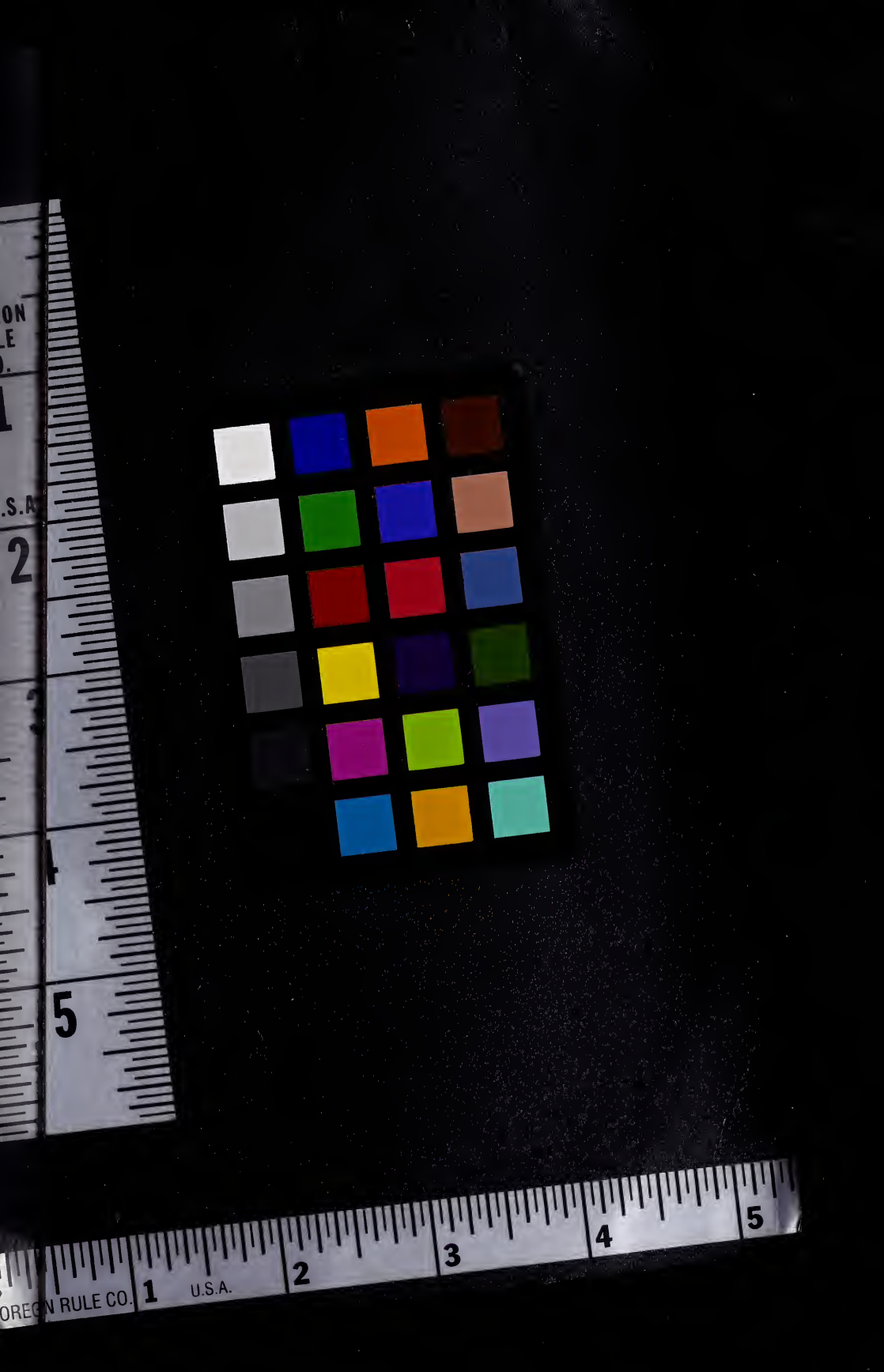
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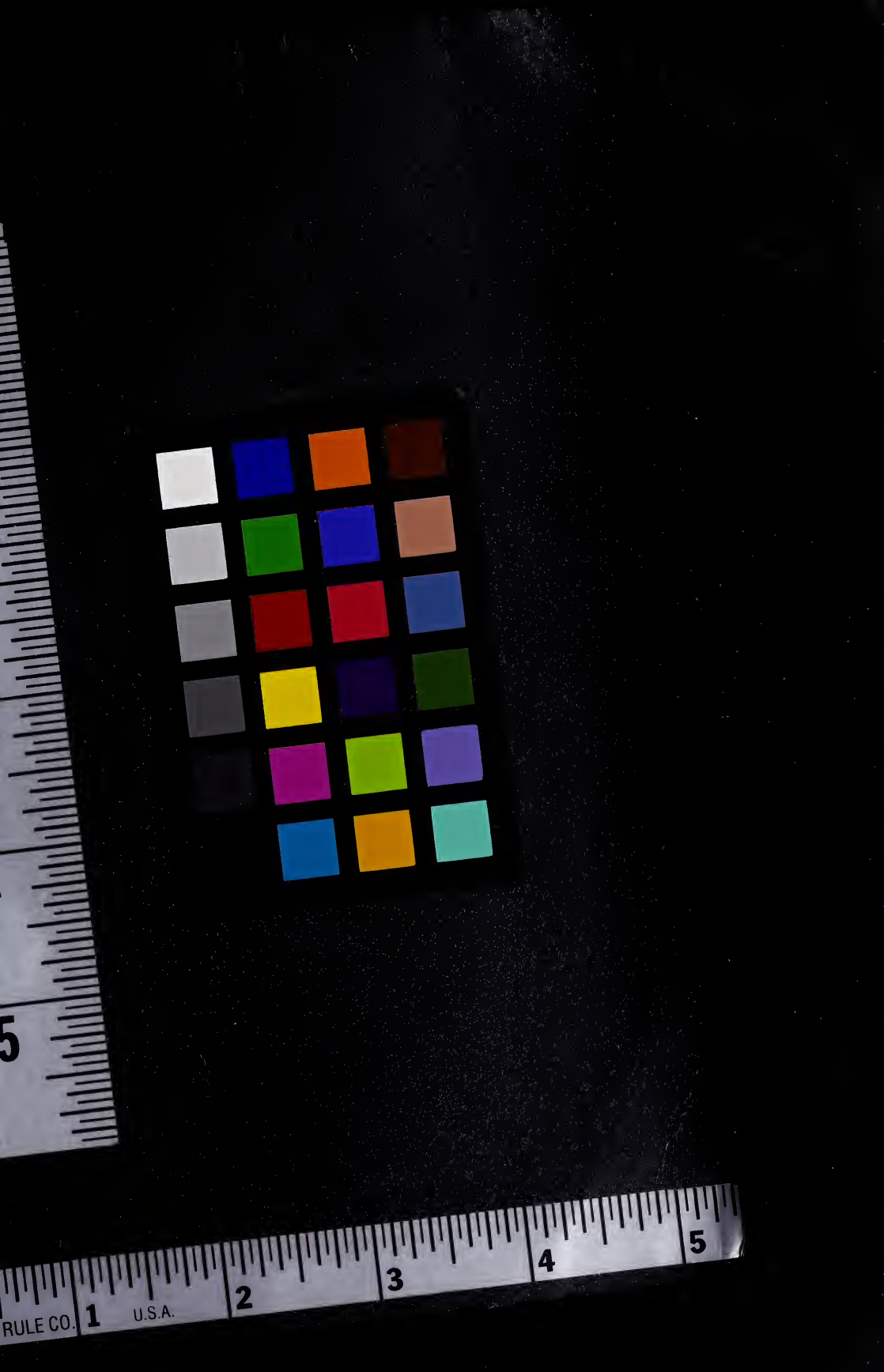
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